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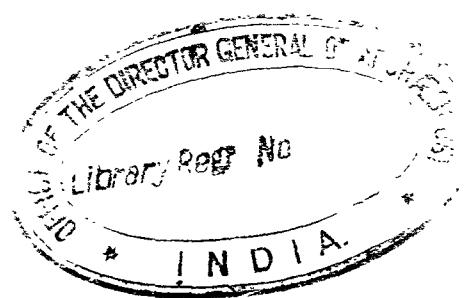
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CALCUTTA

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# The Hindustan Review

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BY  
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[ No. 268

052  
H.R.

FROM THE DESK.

The Indian National Congress.

INDIA

The thirty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress was held during Christmas week at Ahmedabad, the flourishing factory-town of Gujarat and the principal cotton centre in the Presidency of Bombay. Congress meetings in olden days usually witnessed the triumph of the arm-chair orator and earned the deserved sneer of the sceptic when door-mat politicians controlled its destinies. The revolving wheel of fate threw off in successive sessions the usual bumper of pious wishes and fervent exhortations that did no harm because they were not meant to do any, and cut no ice with the bureaucracy or the people because the edge was deliberately blunted. I do not mean to imply that the old Indian National Congress served no useful purpose. If only for laying down the concrete in the foundation on which is reared the imposing edifice of to-day and continuing the organisation till it was ready for evolution into a powerful mouth-piece of the nation, the old leaders deserve a tribute of thanks. The complaint lay not so much with the actors on the political stage as with the times which in smug complacency refused to recognise the virtues or the ills of the impending catastrophe. One may wholly disagree with Mahatma Gandhi and his doctrines and still concur in recording his appreciation of the two great services that Mr. Gandhi has done to the Indian National Congress in particular and through the Congress to the nation at large.

We believe that no one will dispute the fact that Mahatma Gandhi has set up a severely critical test for leadership. His own unique selflessness gives him the power to demand an equally strict fee from the other leaders of opinion in the country. Possibly in the present muck of world politics un-egoistic general-ship that despairs a compromise on principles will not pay; but there is no doubt that the ordeal which the present Congress enforces upon all aspirants to its honours is set in sublime selflessness. The second change which we attribute directly to Mr. Gandhi's influence is the concrete reflexion of the principles of leadership in the private lives of the individual leaders. While service is the test, the capacity to serve is obtained only when you become poor and humble yourself. For Poverty clings like an unholy shadow to the vast millions of this hapless land, and to be able to lead them out of the vicious labyrinth you must join hands with the poor, become poor yourself in order to be one of them and with your undimmed vision light the way out of the morass of darkness. Poverty becomes sanctified by Service and the dignity of labour finds its true symbol in the leaders of the People.

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Ahmedabad witnessed the triumph of this dual demand and the Congress has in so many words set its seal upon the high standard of Service. Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect, represents in his personal life the great and unparalleled sacrifice he has made. A great leader of the Bar, with an extremely lucrative practice which no leader has yet attained to, a popular figure in Society which is regrettfully hearkening to him still—Mr. Das by a complete renunciation presents a high ideal of service through poverty, an ideal which is sustained on the other side of India by Pandit Motilal Nehru. A prince amongst men, the *doyen* of hosts, born and bred amidst luxuries Pandit Nehru focussed in his daily routine of life the height of aristocratic elegance that is drawn from a joyful *abandon* amidst plenty. Panditji, now the humblest of the humble servants of humanity, characterised in a prophetic vein the arrests of his co-workers and himself as the march of the Pilgrims to the shrine of Liberty.

The honest ring of such true metal is echoing still through the country and the reverberations of the echo are to-day seeking an answer from the heart of every true citizen of India. It is a fitting conclusion to such wonderful *epos* that both Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Nehru along with a host of comrades are to-day enjoying the amenities of a British goal.

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#### **The Resolution.**

We will not use the common journalese and characterise the Ahmedabad session as 'momentous'. But never before in the political history of the Congress has a President-elect been accorded the dignity of arrest. This unprecedented action had one prominent effect. The Chair that was rendered vacant by the Government cast its luminous shadow upon the deliberations of the remnants of delegates who had assembled at Ahmedabad and provided for them the tangible objective for action. The bureaucracy, in its all too natural anxiety to smoothen the Royal Progress, anticipated the arrival of the Prince in the principal towns by wholesale arrests of Congress workers. In Calcutta itself the roll amounted to over 2000 names by the 24th of December. It is irrelevant to question on this occasion the wisdom of this procedure. It is however significant to note to what a considerable measure this policy of the Government has played into the hands of the Congress leaders and confirmed the open declarations of the Congress tactics. The principal Resolution carried at the Ahmedabad session deserves a record not because of the challenge it throws to the constituted Government but for the contribution of service it demands of every man and woman in the country at this juncture :—

“Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation, the country has made a great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and self-respect and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta

and reaffirmed at Nagpur and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such a manner as each province may determine till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the central authority of the Government of India has passed into the hands of the people from irresponsible corporation and whereas the reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various Provinces by way of disbandment of volunteer corps and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several Provinces and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all the activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country".

"This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations notwithstanding the proclamation prohibiting public meetings and in as much as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which as far as possible only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public. In consequence of this the Congress is further of opinion that Civil Disobedience is the only civilised and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority by individuals or corporations has been tried and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice to dislodge the existing Government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India to disobedience

and when the mass of the people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the Resolution therein of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.”

“This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon Civil Disobedience, whether mass or individual, (whether of an offensive or defensive character), under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever and to the extent to which it may be found necessary.”

“This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the National institutions and the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of the National Volunteer Corps”.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Gandhi from the open rostrum in the Congress explained in his inimitably lucid and clear-cut style the bearings of the Resolution. He said in part :—

“This Resolution means that we have outgrown the stage of helplessness and dependence upon anybody. This Resolution means that the Nation, through its representatives is determined to have its own way without assistance of any single human being on earth except from God above. This Resolution, whilst it shows the indomitable courage and the resolute determination of the Nation to vindicate its rights and to be able to stare the world in the face, also says, in all humility, to the Government, ‘no matter what you do, no matter how you repress us, we shall one day wring a reluctant repentance from you and we warn you to think betimes. Take care what you are doing and see that you do not make three hundred millions of India your eternal enemy’.”

“This Resolution, if the Government sincerely wants it, has an open door. We have the door wide open for Government. If Moderate friends wish to rally round the standard of the Khilafat, round the standard of the liberties of the Punjab, and, therefore, of India,—if this Government is sincerely anxious to

do justice and nothing but justice, if Lord Reading has really come to India to do justice and nothing less—and we want nothing more—if he is really anxious to do all these things, I inform him from this platform, with God as my witness and with all the earnestness I can command, that he has an open door in this Resolution if he means well; but the door is closed on his face if he means evil. There is every chance for him to hold a Round-Table Conference. But it must be a real Conference."

"If he wants a Conference at a table where only equals are to sit and where there is not a single beggar, then there is an open door and that door will always remain open. No matter how many people go to their grave,—no matter whatever may be the career of repression they have to go through, so far as I am concerned if I can take the Nation with me, I inform him again that the door will always remain wide open, for which any one, who has modesty and humility, need not be ashamed."

"This Resolution is not an arrogant challenge to anybody, but it is a challenge to authority, which is enthroned on arrogance—it is a challenge to authority which disregards the considered opinion of millions of thinking human beings—it is an humble challenge and an irrevocable challenge to authority which, in order to save itself, wants to crush the freedom of opinion, freedom of association, which are the two lungs that are absolutely necessary for a man to breathe the oxygen of Liberty. And if there is any authority in this country at once to curb freedom of speech and freedom of association, I want to be able to say, in your name, from this platform that that authority will perish and that authority will have to repent before an India, that is steeled with high courage, noble purpose and determination, till every man and every woman who choose to call themselves Indians are blotted out of the earth. That is the resolve, combined with firmness, combined with strength and combined with humility."

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#### **The Dictator.**

I do not think one would wish to preserve the dignity of the Congress and differ from the terms of the Resolution at the same

time. It was the only honourable course open to the delegates, and while in full measure they have justified the faith and the hopes of their constituents they have provided a prop for the wavering who were fearful of a shabby and a dishonourable patchwork. For the present Government, if it is to continue to rule *as usual*, the only logical policy would be tightening of the coercive screw. It has ample powers of law; it possesses the strength of the strong and retains the undivided allegiance of the military. If it does not believe in the 'change of hearts' process; if the hierarchy of officials honestly consider Congress politics a treasonable counsel and Congress activities the fountain source of sedition; if again the ultimate arbiter of India's Swaraj is to be the sword:—the honest and open method before the Government is the method of Force and still more Force. Deportations, internments, prison or even the gallows—these are its instruments of action, for is not the safety and the prosperity of the people endangered by mischievous idealism and misdirected zeal? And the Government that does not govern should rather abdicate than continue an ineffective existence. The Ahmedabad Congress has paid the Government a compliment of honesty, for they seemed to have arrived at the conclusion that for the Government to be honest and logical the only alternative is a resort to stricter repression. The Congress delegates have resolved upon a fight to a finish and expect the bureaucracy to come out for a trial of strength. As a warranty of successful operations they have appointed an Executive Head of their ranks. This is the one interpretation despite the 'democratic' sneers of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, which we can put on the Resolution according to the terms of which Mr. Gandhi assumes formal generalship:—

"In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible hereby appoints until further instructions Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a Special Session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the

Working Committee and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency”.

“This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all the aforesaid powers provided that nothing in this Resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose and provided also the present creed of the Congress shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained”.

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Moral Force with its passionate appeal for capacity to suffer *versus* Physical Force with its suasive charge to lovers of self and comforts ! Gandhi, the ascetic exponent of spiritual superiority and the visible symbol of the highest ideal of Service through poverty, *versus* Reading, the high priest of juridical eminence and a strong man of the egoistic West ! It will be inhumane to wish for a *combat a outrance* for the desire for a knockout may end by killing the goose that lay the golden eggs. But a decisive decision is vitally necessary although practical statesmanship recognises the vulnerable points in the two contending attitudes. Non-co-operators may appear to make a fetish of suffering—the readiness to cultivate the goal-habit as the be-all and end-all of political faith and action, ignoring thus the ultimates of the struggle for Swaraj. Likewise the psychology of the official camp may reveal a zealous absorption in the pursuit of immediate dangers with no thought for correct perspective or for the questionable finalities of a decision by the sword. An appreciation of such defaults points to a political compromise—the high water mark of democratic statesmanship as it is understood in the West—such as Pandit Malaviya sought to bring about. A doubt however arises and we find ourselves asking if such a compromise—despite being honourable to both sides—will not mean a triumph of the political principles of one or the other

party. Statesmanship, expediency, political virtue—call it what you will—may expect to profit by an apparent reconciliation between two contestants; but it can not be hoped to build wisely and well on such loose foundations. Time may not be yet and a postponement of decision the only wise course but to suggest a solution based on the running quicksands of political compromise as the solution for all times is cherishing a fond delusion. It may be the sceptic's contempt that terms such a compromise a shift and a farce, but, lest it be forgotten, it is robust scepticism that directs a powerful assault on the great illusion of human nature and reveals the eccentricities of this complex growth—Society.

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#### An Appeal.

The Ahmedabad delegates displayed a statesmanlike sagacity when they made a powerful appeal to those of their countrymen who were not of their faith, to join them in building up the constructive and economic aspect of the national programme for the coming year :

"This Congress appeals to all those, who do not believe in full Non-co-operation or in the principle of Non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of National self-respect, to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full National self-expression to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj to render full assistance to the Nation in the promotion of unity between the different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand spinning and hand weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry, necessary in order to supplement the resources of the millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation and to preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition, and if Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes".

The appeal should find a ready response, straight from the heart as it is of those who know what suffering is.

### The Khilafat Conference.

The Khilafat Sessioni has thrown out this year one issue of great moment and vital importance. Maulana Hasrat Mohani pleaded with force and reason in the Congress Subjects Committee the urgency of a declaration of an Indian Free State having no connection whatsoever with the British Empire. He also urged the adoption of all tactics, violent or non-violent, in pursuit of the one aim of independence. His views did not meet with much sympathy in the Congress camp, but it seems he gained a large measure of support in the Khilafat group and his motion would have been carried had not the President dis-allowed its formal submission in the Open Session. The value of the discussion, however, does not lie in the actual recording of votes for or against. But the tendency reveals a strand in the political platforms of the day and it will be folly to ignore the charm and suasion such an appeal carries. It is not a crime against conscience or against humanity to wish for one's own country an independent status. Certainly one would emphasise in the growth of political freedom the *raison d'etre* of institutions. There can be no quarrel on that score. But Maulana Hasrat Mohani's proposal, we are afraid, was veined in the style of a threat to the existing government and the threat to be effective must possess a possible potentiality of enforcement. As a plain question in expediency Mr. Mohani's motion in the year 1921 was not well advised, for it would have carried the ridicule of history as a chapter of vain and irresponsible boast-glory. The working sense of the delegates happily intervened and avoided the tricky ascent. Maulana Hasrat Mohani is too shrewd a judge of men and affairs not to have anticipated his failure, but possibly his aim was a demonstration and a warning and he has not been equivocal in his terms.

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### An Education in Civic-culture.

Amidst the confused array of contemporary events in the political field one can hardly marshal cause and effect in their

primogenital order. The impact of recurring flanks commingles the logical sequence of things with the antecedent premiss and the baldness of the effect is bleared over with the brush of inter-relational varnish. While this is true of most of the political happenings in every country, in a land of India's political status and position it is extremely difficult to pick out events which stand out prominently as the aftermath of a certain political pose that preceded them. Calcutta has the unique distinction to point to one such in her recent history.

The paralysis of activity that surprised its swarming millions on a certain Thursday morning (17th of November, 1921)—its busiest day in the week—had its nemesis in an over-dose of action. While the august majesty of the Bengal Government held up its hands in horror and forthwith declared the Congress and the Khilafat Volunteer Associations unlawful bodies, the super but unofficial Do-Dees of the Imperial city, in a fit of righteous indignation, sought to redress their furious dis-comforts by a display of civic patriotism. "The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be". Hustings were opened for the recruitment of special constabulary and a black badge surmounted with a crown of distinction became the fashion of the day amongst the Anglo-Indian men folks of the town. I am not giving away any secrets when I say that the majority of the people who enrolled as Civil Guards did so because it seemed to them 'to be the thing'—as indeed several of them admitted personally to me. They possessed no idea whatsoever of the gravity of issues involved, nor any knowledge of the mischievous precedent they were unconsciously helping in setting up.

It may be legitimate anger which promises to lay by the heel the next meddling Non-co-operator you meet on the street. But when an apparently sober and judicious body of respectable persons of the city deliberately organise themselves (we regret to say, under the benign encouragement of the Government) into an unofficial body to meet by force—let us say the worst—hooliganism, they are usurping to themselves functions which no self-conscious community can and will relinquish. A fundamental principle of great moment is involved. Government is the supreme body entrusted, through the passive or active

acquiescence of the majority of members of a society, with the duty of governance, *viz.*, to afford protection, to detect crime, to preserve for each citizen the measured dole of individual liberty. When an extraneous body springs up under the pretence of supplementing the official forces there are but two conclusions that become of compelling interest. One declares the supine weakness of the Government that caters for such an ally and at such an abdication. The other deduction is more uncharitable and points to a strain of tyranny that is afraid of itself—tyranny that encourages hooliganism in order to meet hooliganism that is of a different brand. We will let the Government of Bengal choose between the two.

When the mandarins of the official hierarchy in Calcutta proceeded to suppress and terrorize the opposing camp of mafests they had an eye but for one objective—the preservation of prestige which embraced within its fold, for the nonce, the success of the Royal Visit. And when this objective was threatened, in a panic the machinery of legal ordinance was set in motion. It struck right and left and welcomed assistance that helped it in imposing upon the populace the fear of a greater hooliganism than the alleged hooliganism of the Non-co-operator. The ruling mind did not stay to think that they were actively encouraging the inception of a vicious principle in politics. It may be urged that the Civil Guards were the tangible growth from the spontaneous exhibition of civic loyalty, and that their offer of help proceeded from a genuine insistence upon the enforcement of the protectionary duties of the Government. We may grant all this as also the claim of purity of motives that originated the movement. But *quel suit?* The Government concedes that a body of men can band themselves to help her gratuitously in carrying out one of its primary duties. It follows that either you exercise discretionary powers and scrutinise before sanction into the antecedents of each and sundry group that desires to acquire a corporate entity—which is therefore a denial of the right of Association to the members of the body politic—or you believe in the mordant ideal of State Anarchism where every man becomes a law unto himself. Anarchism and the revocation of the right of grouping—both are a tyranny

insufferable and provocative of legitimate resistance and deserve therefore equally severe condemnation.

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That my apprehensions do not proceed from a distorted frame of mind will become apparent if we glance at the recent political history of Italy. The Armistice found Italy in the midst of acute social dissensions. Her adherence to the Allied cause had not proceeded from a unanimous desire of the people. Her desertion of her Treaty obligation with the Central Powers seemed to some, at any rate, of her inhabitants as the repudiation of a pledge for which they had had the goods. The Allied bait however had proved irresistible and even towards the end of a successful war there were a party of dissentients who were not of the "interventismo". As they saw the alleged fruits of victory constantly eluding the grasp of the people they focussed their discontent in gathering up a furious agitation which bolstered up their own fearsome prognosis. Economic privation, personal distress, the triumph of workmen in Soviet Russia—these were the fruitful soils for the raising up of a platform. The Government, hedged round by the perplexities of international scandals, possessed not the power to give to the people what they wanted. The doctrine of Communism made a ready appeal to the over-strung patience of the Italian peasant. The *bourgeoisie* of the town scented danger in the advancing fires of socialistic tyranny. It was in the fitness of things that an ex-socialist of the name of Mussolini should raise up the flag of national pride. Within a couple of months Italy had a volunteer army of over a million men known as "I Giovani Combattenti" determined to carry out according to their own notions the governmental duty of protection and safety. With what consequences we will let an English sympathiser of the movement speak. The writer (Lina Waterfield in London *Observer*) believes that Fascisti delivered the people from a nightmare which oppressed Italy and therefore the testimony to the 'doings' of the group can not be impugned by a charge of prejudice:—

"The Fascisti chose for their badge the emblems of the Emperors of Rome, and the hatchet was a symbol of prompt action.

Their policy was an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. For every crime against the flag or liberty, a Communist leader was killed, or else the Camera del Lavoro, or their newspaper offices in an offending town, were set on fire. Not a night passed but shots rang out in most towns and villages in Italy. Syndics judged to be disloyal citizens were peremptorily ordered to resign. . . .

"The 'punitive expedition', led by ex-soldiers, became a feature of their methods of campaign. Racing through the country in motor-lorries to hunt out Communist centres proved an alluring support for the younger generation, who, without having experienced the hardships of war, suffered from its exciting influences. Many disreputable characters had joined up, and violence was made an end in itself. Citizens watched from their walls, children ran home screaming, and women bolted their doors when the cry went round, 'The Fascisti are coming'. It was galling for a venerable syndic to be harangued by these youths, some barely seventeen, armed with revolvers, and *mazze ferrate*, and told that they had come to set things in order for him. . . ."

The Calcutta Fascisti possess the potentiality of growth in a similar direction. There emerge two questions one would like to put :—If the Government is content to see its powers and duties usurped, enforced and practised by a private group of citizens, what credentials she retains to justify its existence? The second question echoes what the above quoted writer has said : "Is it quite fair to use these Fascisti groups as Government scavengers?"

WHIP.

## THE PACIFIC PROBLEM.

### IS WAR INEVITABLE?

#### I

In view of the assembling of the Washington Conference it is not surprising that the Pacific problem, round which discussion has naturally centered, should be the topic of the day. Any number of articles and notes on the subject have been finding their way into the press of the world, and lately books dealing with one phase or another of it are beginning to appear.

Of the volumes which have seen the light of day, *Sea Power in the Pacific* (a Study of the American-Japanese Naval Problem), by Hector C. Bywater, Associate Member of the Institute of Naval Architects, published by Messrs. Constable & Co., deserves special notice. The author takes the view that "the prospects of peace (in the Pacific) are none too good," and even goes so far as to suggest that Japan may at any moment use the "enforcement in California of drastic anti-Japanese legislation" as an excuse to "precipitate a crisis" in order to divert Japanese attention from the internal situation which, in his estimation, is becoming intolerable.

#### II

To support this suggestion, the author asserts that, in 1894, Japan went to war with China because the Elder Statesmen (the *Genero*), who enjoy great prestige and wield enormous influence, "considered that a diversion was needed and deliberately provoked hostilities." To quote him :

"At that period the country was seething with unrest. The imposition of new and heavy taxes, chiefly for the benefit of the fighting forces, had created such widespread discontent that fear was entertained of a popular insurrection. In this emergency the Genero came to the rescue by creating a diversion abroad. The *coup de main* at Seoul, resulting in the seizure by Japanese troops of the Korean Court and government—an act which

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made war with China inevitable—was effected by Count Otori, the Japanese Diet had been dissolved for having opposed the Cabinet. The result of this timely diversion was to evoke a great outburst of patriotic sentiment. The people instantly forgot their grievances and rallied unanimously to the support of the Government. When the new Diet assembled, the War Budget and a series of taxation projects very much more drastic than the previous proposals were passed without a dissentient voice."

An unprejudiced writer would have seen in the action taken by the legislature a fine example of a patriotic people sinking internal differences in order to present a united front to the enemy. Mr. Bywater is, however, too violently anti-Japanese to credit them with any such motives.

In the author's view the internal situation in Japan has become so menacing that the Japanese statesmen may decide upon creating another diversion. The Elder Statesmen, he says,—

"have watched with increasing alarm the spread of a particularly intemperate form of Socialism which differs in no essential form from the Bolshevik creed. Labour troubles, formerly so rare as to be scarcely existent, have lately multiplied to an alarming extent. The discontent of the masses has been aggravated by the profiteering which has been rampant of late years, and was the direct cause of the rice riots that convulsed Japan in the latter part of 1918. Owing, it is said, to certain enterprising financiers having 'cornered' the national stocks, the price of rice was nearly quadrupled in the space of two years, and no efforts on the part of the Government availed to check the upward trend of prices. Beginning with a small outbreak in Toyama, where the shops and warehouses were raided by indignant housewives, the movement spread so rapidly and assumed such an alarming character that for a time it seemed as though the whole proletariat was in active revolt. Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, Nagoya, Hiroshima, and the districts around Tokyo were the scenes of extensive rioting and bloodshed. At Kobe, where the mob gained complete control for several days, there were regular battles between troops and rioters, and the tale of casualties was high. Most of the coal miners struck work as a demonstration of sympathy, and in a few cases the pit machinery was wrecked. Gradually, however, the forces of the Government gained the upper hand. Wholesale arrests were made and no fewer than 7,000 prosecutions instituted in connection with the riots. The severity of the punishment meted out to those who were convicted of complicity—including hundreds of mere boys—bore witness to the alarm felt by the Government."

According to Mr. Bywater, average number of strikes between 1914 and 1919, was about 200 per year. The rapid rate

of increase is shown by the figures. There were 27 strikes in 1913; 50 in 1914; 64 in 1915; 108 in 1916; 398 in 1917; and 417 in 1918.

Japan, which, in common with other countries which were only partially involved in active hostilities, enjoyed, during the late war, an extraordinary measure of industrial prosperity is now suffering from industrial depression. Large numbers of workers find themselves without employment. While wages have fallen, there has been no corresponding decrease in the cost of living. The ground has thus been well prepared for the seeds of Bolshevism, "which to all appearances has made alarming headway since the end of the war."

It is not to be believed, Mr. Bywater declares, that "the real rulers of Japan, in whom the feudal spirit still burns fiercely beneath a veneer of Western civilisation, still remain passive in face of this growing menace both to their power and their most sacred traditions." It is virtually certain, if he is to be credited that "they will shrink from no course of action which is calculated to stem the rising tide of social rebellion and anarchy," just as on a previous occasion they "did not scruple to plunge the country into war". What is more likely, he asks, than that the same expedient will be adopted in the present emergency? "Patriotism is still a virtue in Japan, and there is little doubt but that all the best elements in the nation would support a policy of war if they believed the alternative to be social chaos."

### III

Having made up his mind that the internal situation will compel Japan to create a diversion, the author of *Sea Power in the Pacific* asserts that that diversion will take the form of a war with the United States, because Japan has with the States grave questions at issue. She is incensed at the treatment accorded to her nationals in the Pacific States, while America is angry at the Japanese activities in Manchuria, and the Japanese attitude towards China.

Mr. Bywater suggests that Japan's demand for social equality for her nationals in the United States cannot be recon-

ciled with her own immigration restrictions. She bars Chinese labourers, for instance, he states, "on the ground that they would lower the standard of living and institute unfair competition in the labour market". She even does not allow Korean labourers, who are subjects of the Japanese Empire, to enter Japan unless it can be proved that their presence there would not conflict with the interests of Japanese work-people. In view of the fact that Japan adopts exactly the same policy towards Chinese and Korean immigration that the United States adopts towards Japanese immigration, and for precisely the same reasons, she has no moral right to complain because her nationals are debarred from that country.

The author having thus castigated the Japanese proceeds to deal with the activities of the Japanese in China and their effect upon the States. "American interests in the Celestial Empire having increased very substantially in the past twenty years", he writes "the maintenance of the open door has become an issue of capital importance in the United States. The Americans are fully alive to the enormous possibilities that China offers as a field for economic development", and, therefore, "both the Government and people have watched with growing alarm and resentment the efforts of Japan to establish political and commercial supremacy in that quarter."

Mr. Bywater thinks that in Manchuria more particularly "the present situation contains elements that augur none too well for the future peace of the world." As the result of Japan's diplomatic and industrial activity, he declares, Manchuria has been made

"a Japanese province in everything but name. Foreign trade exists on sufferance, for the principal means of communication are under the control of Japan, who shows a strong and not unnatural tendency to favour her own subjects when commercial interests are at stake".

#### IV

Having stated his belief that one day Japan will use the treatment accorded to the Japanese in California and other western States as a pretext to wage war upon the United States in order to divert Japanese attention from the internal situation rapidly

heading towards a crisis, the author proceeds to indicate the course which, in his estimation, such a war will follow. He is quite dogmatic, in expressing his views in that connexion.

Japan, according to that naval writer, will choose the moment which suits her best to open hostilities. She will, he is positive, enshroud her preparations in a thick veil of mystery, and act with such lightning rapidity that the United States will be taken unawares by the first blow she will strike.

In view of the American unpreparedness, Mr. Bywater takes the view that, in the initial stages, Japan is likely to score off against the States—may even block, for a time, the Panama canal, seize Guam, and occupy the Philippines. Americans, he writes, would not take these humiliations lying down and sue for peace—as some Japanese think they would. They would, on the contrary, grit their teeth, and, whatever the sacrifices which may be required of them, concentrate their vast resources upon the reconquest of their Pacific possessions and the vanquishment of Japan, which, if effectively blockaded by the States, could not hold out more than a year.

In making these calculations, the author relies mainly upon the relative strength of the naval armaments of the two countries. Japan, in spite of her prodigious efforts, imposing an almost unbearable burden upon her people, has not been able to build up a navy which, in point of tonnage, gunnery or equipment, can come up to the American navy.

## V

The Panama Canal has been so powerfully fortified by Americans—in contravention of the Hay-Panncfort treaty (that is the true British touch)—that, in the opinion of the author, it is practically impossible for the Japanese fleet, operating from a base far away, to capture it and to establish a base from which to attack the Pacific Coast States. The utmost which Japan can hope to do is temporarily to block up the canal by blowing up a man of war in its mouth—an operation which the Japanese have the spirit of sacrifices and pluck to carry out in the face of the

fiercest fire—or the canal may become blocked by one of those landslips which frequently occur in that Zone.

Should such a contingency make it impossible for the United States to move her Atlantic Fleet, the Pacific Fleet, by itself, is, in the author's opinion, sufficiently strong to make it exceedingly risky for the Japanese to embark upon the enterprise of making a landing upon the Pacific Coast or even harassing the western states. The distance between the two countries, the difficulty of transporting men and munitions, and especially of re-fuelling ships, put such adventures out of the range of possibility.

Hawaii with 110,000 Japanese in her total population of 250,000 persons, is not regarded by the author as a vulnerable point. He does not dismiss the possibility of the Japanese Colony, in the event of an America-Japan war, rising against the American authorities, but takes the view, that ultimately the control over Hawaii rests upon the command of the sea and the fortifications recently made insure the Islands against the control passing out of American hands.

## VI

"For less than the cost of two modern battleships," the author declares, "such a chain of naval bases could be thrown across the Pacific as would give the American Fleet entire command of the situation and enable it to wage a war both of offence and defence with the whole of its available resources." He has to confess, however, that so far no other insular position has been turned to strategical use.

The author is not satisfied with the progress which Americans are making in fortifying Guam. If Japan chooses to make war in 1922, he says, her fast fighting ships can appear before it in four days after leaving her shores and easily capture it. The issue of an Americo-Japanese war would, he declares, primarily be decided by the fate of Guam.

## VII

Japan at the Peace Conference was, Mr. Bywater points out, able to secure possession of the Caroline, Palaw and Marianne

Islands, excepting Guam. The effect of this arrangement, he warns his readers, has been to surround Guam with a cordon of potential Japanese strongholds and naval bases. He does not believe that the fact that, as mandatory of the Islands, Japan is not entitled to fortify them, would cause her to forego the use of such invaluable bases in case of emergency. Is he merely anti-Japanese, or does he speak with knowledge based upon European practice?

Since the author regards the Island of Guam, with a total area of only 288 miles, as the key to the Pacific situation, he is insistent that it should be developed as a naval base without delay. It bears to the Philippines, he explains, the same relation that Heligoland bore to the German Bight, or that Malta bears to the defence of British interests in the Mediterranean. "No Power would," he declares "venture to molest the Philippines while a strong American 'fleet in being' was based at Guam, only 1500 miles away". While the United States is delaying action, he points out, Japan is steadily establishing herself in points of vantage in the Pacific. From the Islands she already controls hostile submarines would be within a four hours' voyage of Guam.

In the acquisition by Japan of the Marshall and Caroline Islands, especially the Island of Yap, the author sees a great menace to American supremacy in the Pacific. If driven out of that Island—which she took possession of in October, 1915—an Island admirably adapted for use as a base for submarines or other vessels operating against the Guam-Manila line of communications, she would, he states, still have the Pelew Islands, where the *Emden* coaled preparatory to making her famous raid upon the Indian Ocean.

Of great importance, too, are the Marshall Islands, which formed one of the bases used by the German Cruiser Squadron under Admiral Von Spee. It was from the Islands, Mr. Bywater explains that the German raiders *Cormoran* and *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* left to prey upon shipping in Australasian waters.

The Germans had already started to develop a naval base at Jaluit. The Japanese, we are informed, have further developed that base, and have established there a depot for storing coal and

oil. If rumour is to be believed, says the author, they are engaged in similar activities in connection with Yap, Angaur (in the Pelews), Pulap, and Ponape, in the Carolines.

Since it would be unseemly for a man belonging to a nation which has just acquired "mandates" over such vast areas as Mesopotamia, Palestine, East and South-West Africa, and the Pacific Islands below the equator to cavil at Japan acquiring a few South Sea Islands, the author urges the United States to hurry on with the development of fortifications of Guam, the Aleutian Islands, Midway Island, Wake Island and Tutilia, which he considers to be links in the Pacific strategy. "Without a chain of well-defended fuel stations", he writes, "it would be impossible for the American Fleet to operate for any length of time in the Western Pacific."

As to-day fortified, Mr. Bywater fears, these islands are anything but impregnable. The capture of any one of these bases by the enemy, or even the temporary exhaustion of its coal and oil reserves might well have disastrous results for the American Fleet. Not only would they be open to torpedo attack, but they would lie "well within the radius of large ocean-going submersibles starting from a point in the Caroline or Marshall Islands."

It would moreover, Mr. Bywater thinks, be impossible to guarantee any of these bases against the attention of surface mine-layers. Japan, he believes, has already made provision for all these emergencies, and might even lay mines in the Gulf of Panama, thereby endangering vessels on their way, *via* the canal, to join the forces in the Pacific.

## VIII

Even before Japan acquired the South Sea Islands, she had rendered herself practically impregnable to attack by the United States, and could, without much difficulty have seized the Philippine Islands in the event of war. She has now established herself on the flank of the only line of communication open to America, thus securing a strategical advantage of capital importance.

A chain of naval sections extending from the Kuriles to Formosa secures her own coasts from aggression. Even a powerful fleet based on the Philippines and Guam would find it a difficult matter to blockade her numerous harbours, while if the Philippines were to come into her possession, the possibility either of blockade or of serious interference with her shipping would altogether vanish. She would have no cause to fear attack from the western side, since the United States has no foothold on Chinese territory. The Korean Straits are so narrow that she could easily close the sea of Japan to enemy vessels.

The only portion of the Japanese Empire which would be exposed to successful attack, according to Mr. Bywater, would be Formosa or Taiwan. Even that Island would be taken with difficulty, as all the harbours are fortified and there is a permanent Japanese garrison of several thousand troops.

## IX

Supposing, however, that the United States dilly-dallies with the programme of fortifying her Pacific possessions, and, Japan secures an initial advantage, the author seeks to solace the Americans by assuring them that if they would but persevere in the struggle, no matter how badly it opened, they would soon bring the Eastern Power to her knees. In naval strength she would be outclassed in no time. Another factor with which she must reckon is her low economic condition compared with America. The United States could afford to wait, Japan could not. Japan's credit could not stand the strain of indefinitely prolonged hostilities.

Not only would she have to face bankruptcy very early in the operations, but shortage of raw materials would soon make itself felt.

The author doubts whether Japan could provide arms, equipment, and other necessities for her naval, and military forces on a war-footing for a longer period than twelve months, if foreign supplies of material ceased to be available. During the Great War upwards of 100,000 Japanese work-people were engaged in the manufacture of munitions and war equipment for

the Allied Powers, only because the allies, and especially the United States placed stocks of raw material at her disposal.

## X

The United States is assured by the author to count, in case of war with Japan, upon the sympathy of Australasia and Canada—whether or not the Anglo-Japanese alliance is renewed. In those countries, the author declares the mere suggestion of an armed league with Japan against the United States would be repudiated with indignation, if only because public opinion in those countries unreservedly sympathises with the American attitude on the racial question. He thinks that the Japanese themselves are of opinion that the Anglo-Japanese alliance has outlined its usefulness, Japanese friendship for Great Britain has perceptibly cooled in the last few years, he declares, and in proof of this relates that the operations at Tsingtau in 1914, in which, a small contingent of British troops was attached to the Japanese Force, were marred by misunderstanding and recrimination. He solemnly assures us that British subjects resident in the Far East at the time unanimously agree that throughout the Great War Japanese opinion, official as well as popular, was decidedly sympathetic to Germany and antagonistic towards the Allies. He even goes to the length of trying to prove that the Japanese Government had made all preparations for necessary action in case of a German victory, and that some journals and magazines went so far as to advocate a German-Russo-Japanese alliance, which they maintained, could dominate the world, and that suggestion was favoured even after the revolution and defection of Russia.

That sentiment is, the author explains, due to the fact that Japan feels, not unreasonably, that if she were to become involved in a conflict arising out of the racial question, it would be vain to expect help from the British people, and since this issue is at the root of her quarrel with the United States, she argues, with unassailable logic, that the British Empire could at least be only an unsympathetic neutral. She knows full well that her subjects are welcomed as coldly in Canada and Australasia as in

the United States, and she does not forget that the first legislation to exclude Asiatic immigrants was enacted in a British Dominion as long ago as 1885.

## XI

Taking everything into consideration, Mr. Bywater warns Japan that she shall have to "face the Pacific problem alone and solve it unaided". She need not hope for help from China, for her policy in that country "has not been of a nature to gain her the goodwill of the Government or the people". More than likely, indeed, Japan would have to reckon with China as a potential foe, or at least as an unbenevolent neutral.

Japan cannot expect whole-hearted co-operation even at home. The Koreans might, in the event of war, seek to regain their independence. Japanese rule in Manchuria, Korea, and Formosa, we are told "still rests upon bayonets".

In view of all these reasons, Mr. Bywater counsels Japan not to think of waging war upon the United States.

The point of view from which this book is written is of particular interest to all Easterns. It is the point of view of Westerns who are jealous of the rise of any Eastern nation, and who are striving, in every way possible, to keep the world under white domination. I do not think much of the case built up by the author, but his psychology, as revealed in the book, is not peculiar to him and it is necessary for us to become intimately acquainted with it.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

## THE IMPERIAL INDIAN LEGISLATURES.

### THE FIRST Two SESSIONS.

H. E. Lord Chelmsford from his place in the legislatures reviewing their conduct said, "Non-officials have shown a sense of balance and responsibility in their treatment of questions and the Government have endeavoured to give the fullest possible effect consistent with their own responsibility to Parliament, to the governing principles of the new constitution", and charged his audience as if in an University convocation address, "to continue to exhibit the courage, the sobriety, the sense of responsibility of this first session and there can be no doubt that your labours will not be in vain".

The late Lord Chief Justice of England and the present Governor-General of India gave an indirect certificate to the first session by cautioning his audience in a true judicial and grandfatherly manner against expecting to repeat the so-called success of the last session and conveyed his blessings to the legislatures. But Lord Chelmsford being the maker of the constitution at once viewed its weakness and strength, if any, which he has cleverly put in the sentences quoted above.

The outward similarity between the British house of Parliament and Indian Legislatures is almost exact and sedulous attempts are being made to remove any deficiencies, such as the provision of a mace and probably the provision of a sergeant-at-arms. The outward resemblance has so far hypnotised some members that a towering personality among them attempted to bury himself under the mausoleum of the Deputy Presidentship. Although as a matter of fact there is a little real difference between the old Legislative Councils and the present Institutions, yet some members are so weighed with the burden of their responsibilities that they seem to be more mindful of the difficulties of the Government than the members of the Government themselves. The former may be aspiring themselves to qualify to become unimpeachable bureaucrats.

The real difference between the Indian Chambers and the

British Parliament was pointed out by the Viceroy in his opening address when he made it clear that unlike the Government in England, the Government of India was not responsible to the Indian Legislatures, but to the British Parliament. Thus the centre of gravity has not moved from London to Delhi or Simla but it remains where it was. On occasions it may suit British politicians to say that they were helpless, but it was not so on account of the Legislative bodies, but due to the force of the public opinion in India. The raising of a bigger loan than was promised before the Assembly and the ear-marking of it for the purchase of railway materials in England alone are matters which remind one of the fact that the spirit of the East India Company is not dead.

The fact is that the principle remains that Indian opinion whether in the legislatures or outside can still only influence but not guide the actions of the Government. However influentially staffed the legislatures might be, without the force of the public opinion at their back, their voice carries little weight. The platitudes of mutual admiration and of the harmonious workings of the bodies are due to causes not inside them but to outside circumstances.

It is however amusing to find that a few members each in the two chambers are aspiring to assume the role of the leaders of the non-official portion of the council and chamber without having a policy which could be made to prevail. India can have self-government only when its chosen representatives can guide its destinies.

In some respects however, the adaptation of the procedure followed in the British Houses of Parliament has caused matters to set back. The recent ruling of the President of the Chamber that even if a bill is referred to a select committee its principle is assented to, has made the members of the government to ally themselves with the conservative section of the non-official members and throw out even the consideration of certain measures, which had such a chance formerly. Thus more than one measure of great social importance has been thrown overboard. As the government is ultimately responsible for allowing an act of the Legislature to come into force or not, it should

allow even radical measures to be fully discussed and opinions gathered on it. The attitude of its members in such cases should be neutral at the most. It may not be in accordance with the Parliamentary practices, but the powers possessed by the Parliament are far ahead of the power possessed by the Indian legislatures. One or two Presidents of the Provincial Councils, taking their cue from the President of the Chamber have made themselves obnoxious and ridiculous in this respect.

The Provincial Councils are supposed to possess powers of control over the executive. This is perhaps true as regards the departments allotted to the ministers, who are thus placed between two fires. Owing to the essential departments being under official control the minister has only a power over the departments directly under him to a limited extent. Already a minister has publicly announced that if a certain measure of his for popularising local self-government is not assented to either by the Government or the members of the council he will resign. But that there are not many more such threats of resignation or actual resignations are due to various causes. In some provinces ministers have allied themselves with conservative elements giving up their former views, in others some are still in a state of flux, while in the Punjab alone a minister has been able to say that he will lay down a definite policy in a particular matter.

When the Madras Council was bold enough to throw out certain items out of the budget, it promptly found them restored by the executive, possible to remind it that its debates were mere pious expressions of opinion. The Bengal Council had the opportunity and wisdom if you like, to reconsider its first view. One of the most out-spoken members of the Assembly plainly told his fellow members that they should not harbour any illusions as to the powers of controlling the executive, and when he was reminded of the indirect powers possessed by the Assembly by no less a person than the Honourable the Finance Member of the Government of India, Mr. Samarth still more bluntly replied, "I know the indirect powers that we have of bringing the Government of India to book but those powers even if used, are bound to lead to friction and in the end prove ineffective", Hence the anxiety of the present members of the

Legislatures, who have attained their seats on a moderate ticket, from a mere fraction of the voters, to work the reforms for what they are worth. So Mr. Samarth further observed, "I do not wish a deadlock to be brought about by Legislative proposals not being passed by us". Because as he further rather pathetically said, "Even if they are not passed by us, under the act, the Government of India has the power to go over to the Upper House and have them passed, so that our not passing them does not matter at all, and even if they are not passed there, in certain contingencies and emergencies, the Government of India can pass them over our heads. Therefore", declares Mr. Samarth, "those powers are illusory".

The Montford scheme of reforms wanted to cure the defect which was in the Congress League scheme, *viz.* of the dangers of deadlocks arising between the Legislature and the executive. While the latter depended upon the strength of the public opinion to coerce the executive into submission, the former depends upon the fears of the members or euphemistically on their courage, sobriety, and sense of responsibility, which last is nothing but the fear of deadlock and dissolution. As Mr. Samarth observed in the course of the debate from which extracts have already been made, "but assuming that they (the powers of the Assembly) are effective, I would not like this House to utilise them, as they will bring about friction and lead to a deadlock". And yet the reforms have saddled India with a heavy load of expenditure. The gain on the other hand is that many more Indians than before will get training in the highest posts of Administration, such as were denied to them before. The non-official members of various legislatures too will be forced to concentrate their minds on many administrative questions. Even now there are signs of grumblings against the reforms even among the moderate ranks. The visits to Delhi and Simla are proving irksome and that they are demanding too much price may be evidenced from the fact that some members travelled to the Headquarters simply to register their votes for a Deputy President.

The two sessions, however, have brought forward a few lights. The honours of the sessions easily rest on Mr. Samarth. In the first session he was able to add a crore of rupees to the

income side of the budget, thus allowing an economic relief being given to the poor Indian public in the matter of the postal rates. In the second session he saved two lacs of rupees by knocking on the head the projected visit of the committee to investigate the possibilities of restricting the visits of the Indian students to foreign countries for education. And in the third session he proposes to check the danger of views of individuals or those of the Government of India before foreign bodies like the British Imperial Conference or the League of Nations as being regarded as the views of the people of India.

Sir P. S. Shivaswamy Aiyer has enhanced his reputation by applying his brain to new subjects like the Army and the questions of the frontier with a remarkable success. He has shown himself as a thorough student and judicious advocate.

Rai J. N. Mazumdar Bahadur did well in reminding the council of the wealth of India's traditions and pointing out the inadequacy of the powers granted to its representatives in the year of grace 1921.

In the Council of State Prof. V. G. Kale, who is evidently in a wrong place, intervened in the debates on a few occasions but did so effectively. True to his reputation as an Economist, he extracted from the Finance Member a promise that India will have its due share of the reparation in the indemnity to be received from Germany, although it is to be regretted that the former did not question the correctness of the figure, which has been since enhanced, arrived at by the latter. Both the former figure and the present one seem to fall far short as a reparation for sacrifices made by India on behalf of the British Empire. On the second occasion Professor Kale was instrumental in getting the position of the Council clear as regards the budget. In the discussion of the first budget before it, it was evidently handicapped by the ambiguity of its position, otherwise the barrenness of the debates of a body which contains veterans like Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and students like Prof. Kale, cannot be accounted for.

The brilliance or achievements of certain members or a categorical study of the resolutions moved, withdrawn, rejected, or accepted by the Government, would be no criterion of the

worth of the new bodies. It is their fundamental weakness that counts. If the British Government have no wish to keep India under its economic dominance, and they have *ad nauseum* disclaimed any such design, then there need be no fear of the political connection being broken, if the real power were conceded to the representatives of the people. In the first place the burden of responsibility of maintaining the administration of such a vast country as India, will make them seek an alliance, perhaps on more stringent terms, if not the protection of such a powerful being as the British Empire.

Then before it becomes too obnoxious by delay, the power of veto to be exercised by the British representative in India, in the same matters as possessed by the Governors-General of Self-governing colonies will be ample safe-guards for the position of the interests of the Empire as a whole. But it is really the fear of the vast custom of India being lost, if the political dominance was wrecked that is standing in the way. But now that it is inevitably to be lost by the voluntary action, which is engendering ill-will on both the sides, despite the sincerest efforts of the leaders, it is better perhaps that the actions were in accordance with the disclaimers made off and on.

India for sometime may be held by the power of arms and by the continuance of the conditions which have been imposed upon the Central European States after the war, yet the question for consideration is how far will it be worth while to allow discontent to grow to such an extent that it may become unmanageable as it did in the former British Colonies, which are now the United States of America and modern Ireland.

In India there is however, a skeleton in the cupboard, the existance of which both the sides at present affect to ignore. But the Indian States may be left a territory apart to be developed in the light of the achievements and progress of their brethren across their frontiers. The Indian States have treaties with the British Government which it would be dishonourable on its part to be allowed to be weakened and to add to the difficulties it may be pointed out that the treaties are with dynasties and not with peoples.

It is contended that the existance of democratic institutions

in British India will naturally create a demand for similar institutions in Indian States, which are subversive of the dynastic principles. But this is a world problem and the rulers of the Indian States can save themselves by turning into constitutional monarchs. Under a truly national government in India some of the anomalies connected with them will be more easily removed than under the present conditions.

The problem of the maintenance of the British rule in India is daily becoming more difficult of solution. No half measures will satisfy people. Such subterfuges or call it what you will, as the creation of the Imperial Bank of India to conduct the monetary operations behind the back of the people or the appointment of a High Commissioner for India, with only the similarity in name with the officer of the Self-governing colonies, to encourage British manufacturers, are sure to make, even the present members of the Indian Legislatures, furiously think. It is recognised on all sides that nothing short of a form of Government like the self-governing colonies, will at present pacify the Indian public.

AN INDIAN THINKER.

## KIRILKA AT THE FERRY

When at last our sledge reached the border of the forest through which we had been travelling a broad and darkening view lay before us. Isaiah rose from his seat, peered forward into the distance, and said :

“The deuce ! It looks to me as if it had started already !”

“What ! Really ?”

“Yes, it looks as if it were moving.”

“Well, whip up the horse and get on as fast as you can !”

Isaiah muttered something to the sturdy little pony, who leaped forward when the whip cracked. He had ears like a donkey, and his hair was sparse where the whip had often struck him. Then he stopped suddenly, pawed the ground, and shook his head as if something had offended him.

Isaiah pulled at the reins. “I’ll teach you to play tricks !” he said. This man Isaiah Makinikoff was a lay-clerk, about forty years old and frightfully ugly. He had a sandy beard, and a big swelling on his right cheek which partially hid one eye and hung down on his shoulder like a wrinkled bag. He was an inveterate drinker, a bit of a philosopher and humorist, and at this moment was taking me to see his brother—a schoolmaster friend of mine—who lay dying of consumption. We had travelled less than thirteen miles in five hours, owing to the vile roads and our wilful pony. Isaiah was fertile in the names which he gave to the little brute, and, curiously enough, each of them seemed admirably to suit, just as one often meets in life with complex characters to whom each and every name appears befitting, except the name of “man.”

Above us was a sombre sky, clouded and grey, and around us broad fields of snow, with here and there a patch of black where the snow had melted. In front of us, about two miles off, lay the range of blue mountains through which the Volga took its course. They looked low under the leaden weight of the sky. A screen of tangled bushes hid the river from our view, and the little pools of water were quivering with the ripples raised by the south wind ;

the air was laden with a heavy moisture, and the mud splashed under the horse's hoofs. Over everything reigned sadness, as if Nature were tired of her long wait for the bright spring sun, whose warm rays, now so long absent, left her discontented and depressed.

Isaiah jumped down from his seat. "That flood will hold us up!" he cried. "Jacob will be dead before we can get there, and our journey will have been wasted. But what use will it be if he is alive? We ought not to force ourselves upon him at such a moment. Dying people should not be left to themselves, and their thoughts should not be distracted by outside affairs."

Isaiah's voice was hoarse and gloomy. His long body, thin and angular, was wrapped up in a ragged, reddish coat, and he rocked back and forth upon his high seat, now jumping up or swaying from one side to the other, now bowing his head or throwing it backwards. He bustled nervously on his seat, swearing and shaking his head, while I, looking at him, kept thinking of the energy wasted needlessly by men and women over matters of little moment. If the stupid little gnawing worms of our daily worries did not so torment us, we might so easily throttle the terrible serpent of our really great misfortunes!

"The boat's gone!" cried Isaiah with some anxiety.

"Can you see anything?"

"I can see horses near the bushes, and people around them. That means, of course, that they can't get across."

"Oh, we'll manage it one way or another."

"Yes, of course, when the ice is gone down the river. But what are we going to do till then? That's what bothers me. Well, I'm going to have something to eat. I'm as hungry as a bear. I kept saying to you, 'Let us have something to eat,' but you only kept on saying, 'No, push on'; and now that you've got here, what more do you want?"

"Well, I'm hungry too. Did you bring anything with you?"

"Suppose I forgot?" replied Isaiah angrily.

I looked over his shoulder and caught sight of a carriage drawn by three horses abreast, and a char-a-banc with two horses. The horses were standing towards us, with several people near

them. One man, very tall, with a red moustache, and a hat with a red band—such as Russian nobles wear—upon it. The other man wore a fur coat down to his feet.

"That's Souchoff, the district judge, and the miller Mamaeff," murmured Isaiah, in a marked tone of respect. Then, addressing his horse with a "Whoa! my benefactor!" he turned to the fat coachman near the troika and saim, as he took off his cap, "We've got here too late, haven't we?"

The coachman looked sulkily at Isaiah's egg-like bare head, and, without a word, turned away.

"He evidently hasn't any use for you," remarked the miller with a grin. Mamaeff was a ponderous little man, with a ruddy complexion and the furtive eyes of a cunning thief.

The district judge was leaning against his carriage, smoking, twirling his moustache, and casting glances in our direction. There were two other people near him—Mamaeff's coachman, a tall, curly-headed fellow with an enormous mouth, who stood by the char-a-banc, and a peasant, miserably small and knock-kneed clothed in a coat gaping with holes and ragged at the edges. He stood bent before us, as if, in making his low bow, he had become frozen on the spot. On his shrunken face was a straggly beard, his eyes were almost hidden in wrinkles and on his thin lips was a sort of smile, respectful yet derisive, and suggestive either of stupidity or craftiness.

Like a monkey he sat, with his legs drawn up under his body, and, turning his head slowly from side to side, kept looking at us attentively, though never showing his own eyes. Patches of dirty wool protruded through the vents of his coat. His whole appearance produced a curious impression. He seemed to be a creature tossed half-digested from the maw of some devouring monster.

We were now standing behind a bank of sand, which, although it hid the view of the river, yet sheltered us from the wind.

Isaiah started to climb the bank. "I am just going to see how things are getting on down below," he said.

With a sulken face the district judge followed him, the coachman and myself in the rear. The little peasant on his hands

and knees went with us. When we reached the top we sat down like a lot of gloomy crows. In front of us, little more than a hundred feet away, and about twenty feet below us, lay the river, a line of greyish blue encased in ice, which, now shattered by huge fissures floated in little pieces on its surface. They were like deprous things, these scabs of ice, and moved slowly, ever conscious, in their tardy progress, of irresistible strength.

The cold, damp air was broken by a grating voice. "Kirilka!" called the district judge.

The peasant leaped to his feet, took off his cap, and bowed low before his chief, as if he were offering himself on the block.

"Well, how long are we going to await?"

"Not long, your Worship. The ice will pass directly, and the river will be clear. See how it's going by. But it's better to wait till those big jagged pieces pass. The boat won't be long. There is a bit of land jutting into the water higher up, and when the ice reaches it everything will go smoothly. It all rests with that big piece there. If that gets stopped by the land, there will be a jam and the ferry-boat will get stopped, and....."

"Very well. Now, hold your tongue!"

The peasant snapped his lips together and stood quiet.

"Deuce take it!" continued the judge angrily. "Didn't I tell you, you idiot, to have two boats ready on his side? Do you hear me?"

"Yes, you told me," replied the peasant, evidently at fault.

"And why didn't you do as I told you,"

"I didn't have the time. The ice broke up so quickly."

"Fool!" cried the district judge. Then, turning to Mamaeff, he said, "These asses aren't able to understand a word that's said to them."

"They're nothing but peasants, anyway," returned Mamaeff, with a servile grin. "They're a silly lot, and have no more backbone than a louse. But perhaps the *Zemstvos*, the schools, and the improvements in education....."

"Schools, indeed! Libraries and lantern lectures! Yes, it's all very fine. But I know all about it. You yourself know that I am not an opponent of education, yet you can take it from me that a jolly good whipping is the best teacher in the world. The

lashes that the peasant receives don't cost him a penny, but education strips the clothes from his body. Education has ruined the peasant. That's what I think, but mind you, I don't say, 'Do not educate them.' I only say, 'Wait a bit longer. The time is not ripe.'"

"That's so," replied the miller enthusiastically. "We must wait a little longer. To-day the peasant is having a hard time. Bad harvests, illness, a weakness for liquor, in fact everything that gnaws the root of his prosperity—and then, on top of it all, they burden him with schools and libraries! Under such conditions, what can be done? Nothing, take my word for it!"

"There's sense in that, Nikita Pavlovitch," remarked Isaiah, scrupulously respectful, yet boldly, and with a sort of sigh.

"There is, indeed! Haven't I spent twenty-seven years among them? So far education is concerned, my opinion is this: that, if it is given at the proper time, the results may be excellent for everyone. But if—excuse the expression, please—my belly is empty, then all I want to know is how to become a first-class thief."

"But why should anyone want to know anything?" asked Isaiah, with respectful good humour.

Mamaeff looked at him and pursed his lips.

"There's a specimen for you," said the judge, pointing with his finger. "What about that peasant Kirilka? Take a good look at him." The judge addressed all of us with emphasis in his face and voice. "There's a peasant for you, but he's a rare bird, after all. When the *Gregory* was burnt, this rascal in rags saved the lives of six passengers. It was last autumn. For four hours, in the teeth of the gale and the dead of night, he risked his life in the water, and when he had rescued these people he disappeared from view. They tried to hunt him up to thank him and reward him, and to give him a medal for bravery, and they finally found him stealing wood in a forest near by. They caught him in the act too. Yet he's a good farmer, and intelligent. He's avaricious and brutal. He sent his daughter-in-law to her grave, yet he allows his old sick wife to beat him. He's a drunkard, yet he's very pious and sings in church. He's a prosperous bee-

keeper and has plenty of money, yet he's an arrant thief. Once, when a barge got held up here, he was caught stealing three bags of raisins. Look at him again. What do you think of him?"

We all looked attentively at this curious character, who stood before us with his hangdog eyes and wrinkled brow. His dull gaze was fastened on Souchoff's elegant boots. Around his lips trifling wrinkles played, yet these lips were pressed firmly against each other, and his features were absolutely without expression.

"We'll ask him something. Here, Kirilka! What good do you see in schools and education?"

Kirilka sighed, his lips stirred, but he said nothing.

"Come, you can read," said the judge in a commanding voice. "You ought to know if education makes it easier for you to live."

"Not much, perhaps.....but they who teach us may get something out of it....."

"They? What do you mean by 'They'?"

"Why, the teachers, the Zemstvos, or—somebody else."

"You donkey! What I want to know is, Does it do you any good?"

"Well, that's.....that's as you wish it, your honour."

"What's that? As I wish it?"

"Yes, your honour. You are our masters. If you wish us to be educated, it is because it is useful to you."

"The devil take you!"

Souchoff's face reddened with anger, and the ends of his moustache trembled.

Thus we continued to talk, while the river, like an immense snake, swished along its course in front of us, tossing the grey, cold ice up against its sides.

Our conversation, too, was like a snake, for it twisted and turned, now to the right, now to the left, as if to seize an ever-escaping prey. The subject of our conversation—our prey—was the peasant Kirilka. What was he underneath? He was seated on the sand near us, stolid and unconcerned.

Mamaeff now said :

"No he's no fool. Far from it. Still, it's difficult to make him out."

The district judge was beginning to lose his temper. "I do not call him a fool. I consider him demoralised ! Mind you, he is like a child who has not attained his majority, in that he should have someone to look out for him. That's root of all his trouble in life."

"Well, with your permission, I venture to think that he's all right. Like all of us, he is one of God's creatures, but—begging your pardon—he has become brutalised, and, thanks to the times in which he lives, he has been deprived of all hope of a better future."

Isaiah spoke these words in a soft, respectful voice, with a smile and a sigh. The lids of his eyes drooped, as if he did not care to look his listeners in the face, and the growth on his face, trembled as if ready, yet fearing, to break into laughter.

As for me, I maintained that the peasant was suffering from starvation, and that if he were given the means to nourish himself things would turn out all right.

"You think he's starved ?" exclaimed the judge in an angry voice. "What, in the devil's name, makes you think that ? What makes him hungry ? Forty-five years ago the peasant did not know what hunger meant. He had everything he wanted, and now—no, I don't quite mean what I say—I say—I—am hungry myself. Yes, devil take him, at this moment I'm hungry myself, thanks to his stupidity. Now, what do you think of that ? I told him to have two boats waiting here for me. I get here and find Kirilka, but no boats. No, they are a parcel of idiots—a class of people with no respect for the commands of their superiors !"

"Well," remarked Mamaeff in a melancholy tone, "It would be very nice if we had something to eat."

"What's so," sighed Isaiah.

We, who a few minutes before were so deep in angry discussion, were now suddenly silent under the common feeling of hunger, and we all looked at Kirilka, who, under our eyes, seemed confused, and began pulling at his hat.

"What have you done with the boat, little brother?" asked Isaiah, reproachfully.

"What good is a boat? Besides, if there was a boat here, you couldn't eat it." Kirilka spoke with an air of guilt. We turned our looks upon him.

Mamaeff drew out a gold watch. "I've been here six hours," he said.

Souchoff fumbled his moustache in rage. "It's all the fault of this brute, who told us that we'd be able to start soon. Here, you, when will that be?"

The judge seemed to think that Kirilka had some power over the flood and the ice, and it was clear also that Kirilka felt in some way guilty, for he shivered visibly at the judge's words. He went to the extreme edge of the bank, shaded his eyes with his hand, and gazed far into the distance. He shook his left leg—why, I do not know—and moved his lips as if he were laying a curse upon the stream or asking something of it sweetly. The ice was a compact mass, the huge blocks grinding against each other as they moved down stream. Some of them were split into a thousand pieces, and as they broke allowed the troubled water to appear and disappear. It was like an immense body eaten by a skin disease, discoloured and scabbed, with some powerful and invisible hand trying to cleanse it off its disgusting scales.

"Only a little longer to wait, your honour," cried Kirilka, with animation. "The ice is clearing already. Look there, on the other bank!"

He pointed with the hand in which he held his cap, but I could see nothing except the ice.

"Is it far to Olchof?"

"In a straight line, your honour, about three miles and a half."

"The deuce! H'm! By the way, you don't happen to have anything to eat about you? A potato or a bit of bread?"

"Bread?—yes; but no potatoes. The crop failed last year."

"You've got the bread with you?"

"Yes. Here, inside my blouse."

"Ugh? What in the devil do you keep it there for?"

"Because I've only got a little bit, your honour.....only a pound or two.....and then.....I can keep it warm."

"Blockhead! Well, I should have sent the coachman to Olkovo. We might have got some milk or something;.....but this fool only kept on saying, 'Soon, your honour—you'll get across soon.' And how long is this 'soon' going to last? It's too bad!"

Souchoff angrily twirled his moustache, while Mamaeff kept his eyes on the breast of the peasant, who still stood there with bowed head, with his cap in his hand. Isaiah, meantime, was making signs to Kirilka, who, when he noticed them, began to sidle towards my friend with his face turned to the judge's back.

The ice was still breaking up, and the fissures were beginning to show like furrows on a sad, old face, ever altering the expression of the stream, now bleak and moody, now laughing and mocking, then sad, as if full of pain.

At the same moment Mamaeff uttered a gurgling cough, and the district judge cried out angrily :

"Kirilka, bring that bread to me."

The little peasant, taking off his cap and placing on top of it the bread which he had drawn from his bosom, offered it to the judge. The latter took it in his hand, looked at it for an instant, smiled grimly, and said to us gruffly :

"Well, gentlemen, I see we all want this piece of bread, and we all have an equal right to it. We'd better share it equally. It's an awkward position to be in, but what else can we do? I came away in such a hurry that I forgot to bring anything along with me. However.....there!"

With this he cut off a bit for himself and handed the rest to Mamaeff. The merchant sniffed at it, cocked his head, measured the piece with his eye, and bit off his share. Isaiah took the rest, and divided with me. We now sat down together, nibbling the bread. It was more like clay than bread, and it smelled like sheepskin. It was damp with perspiration, and musty like old cabbage. In fact, its flavour was unmentionable. But I ate it nevertheless, and moodily watched the river, as it went flowing by, clothed in its wintry tatters.

The judge stood looking at his bit of bread. "And this is

what they live on at the beginning of the twentieth century. Pah ! And this is what's the reason ”

The question was addressed to Mamaeff, who heaved a sigh and humbly remarked :

“Certainly, it's not up to much. As for nourishment.....”

“But why not ? That's what I want to know !”

“Because—well, the land, so to speak, doesn't provide anything better.”

“Pah ! Arrant nonsense ! All this talk about the exhaustion of the soil is the invention of statisticians.

Kirilka gave a sigh and pushed his cap down on his head.

“Tell me,” said the judge to Kirilka, “what about your land ?”

“It depends—that is to say, if the soil is good, it yields everything you want.”

“Now, don't beat about the bush. Tell me straight, does your land yield or not ?”

“Of course—that is—if—”

“Now, don't lie !”

“If it is worked properly, then it's all right.”

“Aah ! Listen to that ! 'If it is worked properly'. That's just the point. It does not yield because there is no intelligence to work it. What do we see around us ? Drunkenness and debauchery everywhere—and sheer laziness. There is not enough control over it. If the crop is bad at any time, the Zemstvo appears upon the scene and says to the peasant : 'Here is seed to sow and bread to eat.' But the whole business is wrong. When the crops are bad, the peasant ought to be brought up and asked, 'How did you sow your seed, and have you cultivated your land properly ?' Give him seed, if you will, but make him do his work well—even if you have to make him with a stick. Then the land would yield all right. Now, however, the peasant looks to the Zemstvo to do everything for him, while he stands idly by. I tell you, there's no one in authority to make the peasant do his duty !”

“That's right,” said Mamaeff boldly. “The old proprietors of the land knew how to get the good out of the peasant.”

“Yes, and made what they liked out of them—musicians,

painters, dancers, acrobats, and actors", replied the judge hotly.  
"It was all right in the old days".

"I remember", said Mamaeff, "in my boyhood days, how one of the servants of our Court used to do imitations of——"

"Indeed?"

"Yes, of anything you wished. He could mimic human sounds and the cries of animals, the sawing of wood or breaking glass. He would simply puff out his cheeks, and—well, he could do anything. Occasionally the Court would ask him to bark like his little dog. 'Fedka', he would say, 'bark like Carlo or Rover', and it was fun to listen to him. That was how they were brought up. To-day such talent would mean money in their pockets".

"The boats are coming!" cried Isaiah.

"At last! Now, Kirilka, my horses! No, stop! I will speak to the coachman myself".

"It's a relief to go", remarked Mamaeff with a smile.

"Yes".

"It's always like that with life. One waits and waits, but the inevitable comes at last! Yes, everything has its end".

"It's comforting after all", remarked Isaish. "If it weren't one wouldn't want to live".

On the opposite bank we distinguish two long, dark objects on the move.

The judge had an eye on Kirilka. At last he said.

"Do you drink as much as ever?"

"Well, if I get a chance I take a drop now and then".

"And do you still steal wood?"

"What do I need wood for?"

"Come, no nonsense!"

"But, your honour, I never needed to steal wood". Kirilka shook his head.

"Then why did I have to pass judgment on you?"

"It's true you sentenced me, but——"

"But what?"

"Well, you have the right to condemn us. You are our masters".

"And you—you are a sly rascal. You never steal raisins from barges now, do you?"

"I only did it once, your Honour".

"And that time they caught you! Ha! ha!"

"I wasn't used to the work. That's why I got caught".

"Then you'd better learn a thing or two about the business," replied the judge with a mocking laugh, in which Mamaeff joined.

The labourers on the boats warded off the floating cakes of ice with long iron bars and approached nearer to the bank. They shouted loudly to each other at their work. Kirilka put his hands to his mouth and cried out to them, "Come to the left—to the left! Then he made a rush down the bank to the river. We all followed quickly and were soon seated safely in the boats, Isaiah and myself in one, Mamaeff and Souchoff in the other.

The judge took off his hat and crossed himself. "God be thanked," he said; "we're off at last! The two peasants who steered the boat also crossed themselves rapidly and then turned to their work, picking their way with their gaffs through the cold and dirty ice around us, so void of feeling, yet so all-powerful!

Suddenly I heard the voice of someone from the shore which we had left, and I turned in that direction. The bank was but a few yards away, and on it stood Kirilka with bared head. I could see his sly eyes and their little twinkle, and I heard his voice off through the distance singularly sharp and clear:

"Uncle Anthony", he cried to one of the boatmen, "when you come back don't forget to bring me a loaf of bread! The *gentlemen* ate mine while they were waiting for the ferry, and it was all the bread I had"!

MAXIM GORKY.

## INTERNATIONAL FETTERS OF YOUNG CHINA.

*(Concluded)*

### IV. THE DEMANDS OF YOUNG CHINA

Be this as it may, the Bolshevik promises and actions in regard to the Far East have not come a moment too early. For, the right of China to live as an unfettered nation has been definitely demanding the attention of all her political leaders since at any rate the summer of 1917 (a few months previous to the Soviet announcements). Indeed the most important question discussed by the pro-war as well as anti-war party in China was the question as to the best means of fortifying her status as a sovereign state.

It is because Liang Chi-Chiao believed that active association with the allies in the war presented China with the "last opportunity to become a member of the family of nations" that he enthusiastically started the pro-war campaign. Nothing therefore could be more characteristic of his stand-point than the slogan, "Wanted—a Cavour."

Exactly opposite was the attitude of his political preceptor Kang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen, and Tong Shao-yi, who opposed the war by all means. They believed that China's participation in the war would not place her sovereignty on any more respectable basis than the maintenance of neutrality. For, cancellation of Boxer indemnities, abolition of extra-territoriality, retrocession of foreign concessions, and repeal or amendment of unjust treaties,—these constitute the irreducible minimum of Young China's demands as started by Kang in his anti-war memorandum. "But none of these," said this veteran champion of China's rights, "have we demanded."

Since then, however, China's delegates to the Peace Conference have stated these claims in no unmistakable terms. But Young China at last understands with Kang that "it is absurd to expect our admission to the ranks of the first class powers simply by being allowed a seat at the Peace Conference and by taking a side with the Entente!"

The Chinese Republic does not have to repeat today the

cessions of Hongkong, Eastern Siberia, Indo-China, Burma, Sikim, Formosa and Korea, or the "leases" of Kiao-chao, Wei-hei-wei, Port Arthur, and Kwang-chau-wan that the old régime had to transact between 1842 and 1898. These are ancient stories and have at the worst left only painful memories. But the inheritance of the republic from the empire in the remaining portions of Greater China as well as within the bounds of China proper is full of knotty problems that are taxing the patience and diplomatic skill of its statesmen. It is nothing short of the Herculean might of a "Perseus the Deliverer" that can possibly rescue a nation out of the "Serbonian bog" of Chinese politics.

England is not satisfied solely, as we have seen, with the Chinese recognition of the autonomy of outer Tibet. She must have her own terms as to the boundary between inner and outer Tibet. Russia (of the old régime) was compelling autonomous outer Mongolia to cede territories to her, though the Republic claims that by the Kiakhta agreement of 1915 China still has "suzerainty" over Mongolia and is entitled to prevent any such cessions. Japan has been erecting "police boxes" here and there and every where in south Manchuria. But according to China this action is much more than what extra-territoriality implies. The Japanese government of Korea tries also to bring within its administrative jurisdiction all those Koreans by race who live in Yenchi, the borderland between Manchuria and Korea. The Republic claims that these Koreans are citizens of China and are by no means amenable to Japanese rule.

These are some of the outstanding problems arising in anomalous regions whose international status verges indefinitely between a "sphere of influence" or the more innocent "sphere of interest" and a protectorate or dependency.

The troubles of such international muddles were bequeathed by the Empire to the Republic within China proper also. Since the United States Secretary Hay's "open door policy" letter was issued to the powers in 1899 the "integrity" of China has surely been guaranteed by every power, who has proclaimed at the same time the policy of "open door" and "equal opportunity for all." In a similar fashion had been guaranteed the integrity of Turkey in 1856 and of Morocco in 1880. But China as well as the rest of

the world know how the "independence" of these states have been served by such scraps of paper. While theoretically speaking, therefore, legal sovereignty is in Chinese hands, Young China has by daily experience come to realize that the state of affairs requiring external guarantee of self-determination is not intrinsically different from the much-dreaded subjection to foreigners.

"To be weak is miserable, doing or suffering." And in international relations, not to have the sinews of war is tantamount to inviting thraldom and submitting to oppression. The foreign demands on China are indeed mostly non-political in nature. Mere "financial" control is generally what is stipulated by the foreign industrial and commercial syndicates. But the limitation of sovereignty and curtailment of political freedom follow as a matter of course—in fact, if not on paper.

## V. THE NEVER-ENDING WRONGS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

### 1. *Sphere of influence*

Young China has to feel the fetters and shackles at every step. Not an inch of Chinese soil is without foreign control of some sort or other. Since 1897—1898 the whole of China proper has been divided up into spheres of interest. The "sphere of interest" is a term that, loosely used, as it generally is, implies also "sphere of influence." In such areas "special" privileges, principally and *legally* of an economic character, are enjoyed by one Power to the *exclusion of the rest*, and the favoured Power commands the monopoly in the matter of all concessions regarding loans, railway construction, mining, and so forth. Such a sphere is in reality a euphemism for actual political dominion. In any case it is an "exclusive" preserve, and as such, is logically the total antithesis of integrity, "open door" and "equal opportunity" for all. To ear-mark somewhere in China a sphere of influence for a certain Power and then to guarantee in it an open door constitute a contradiction in terms. It is absurd therefore to speak of China's integrity" in the same breath with exclusive privileges or special interests enjoyed by the different powers each in its own sphere. And after all this it is adding insult to injury to remark that China still possesses "independence."

The voluntary retirement of Bolshevik Russia from the battle for concessions and spheres leaves China open to the competition of only one unit less. By no means does it liberate the Chinese republic from the thraldom of aliens. Rather, from the stand-point of the foreign aggressors viz., England, France and Japan, the fewer the rivals, the better the chances for a monopolistic control. Nor of much intrinsic advantage to China itself is the expulsion of Germany from the Shantung area. The elimination of two great powers from the politics of eastern Asia is full of dangerous consequences to Chinese independence. For one thing, China's opportunities to play off the powers against one another are likely to come few and far between. And the problem is getting darker every day through the philistinism of the United States. Young China, especially that section of it which has not been demoralized by America's charity, knows quite well that the American people or government do not intend to be real friends of Chinese freedom. China's patriots may be excused for feeling that the statesmen, journalists and political agitators of the United States are much too obsessed by their anti-Japanese interests and anti-Asian sentiments to understand rationally the exact situation in the Far East for which the ever-expanding British empire is primarily responsible.

## 2. *Extra-territoriality*

Subservience is most keenly brought home to Young China whenever it comes in touch with a foreigner in business intercourse. The Chinese in their own land have to submit to foreign institutions in all transactions with outsiders.

Nationals of every foreign power enjoy extra-territoriality in Oriental countries. This aliendom is exercised in the Turkish Empire by what is known as "capitulations." Throughout the length and breadth of China the foreigners have had their own laws and tribunals since the treaty of Tientsin (1858). The extra-territorial jurisdiction of the consular courts is extremely galling to the children of the soil. The Japanese also had to suffer from this for a long time and have succeeded in getting rid of it only so late as 1911. Imperial China resented it at the convention of

1869. How Young China feels about this can be best understood from what friendly foreigners now say about the past experience of Japan. According to Brinkley in his *History of the Japanese People* "the struggle that ensued between foreign distrust and Japanese aspirations often developed painful phases, and did much to intensify the feeling of antagonism which had existed between the Japanese and foreign residents at the outset and which even today has not wholly disappeared."

The grievance is not merely a sentimental one. In the first place, each of the foreign powers tries its own nationals in its own courts. In the second place, the cases between persons of different nationalities are adjudicated according to the treaties between the powers involved "without interference on the part of China." In civil cases it is the foreign consulates that are to be appealed to in the first instance, and in criminal cases Chinese are tried and punished by Chinese authorities according to Chinese law and aliens by their own authorities and laws. In addition to these restrictions in regard to litigation affecting Chinese and aliens, China has to concede the total absence of jurisdiction over foreigners in other cases. Besides, every foreign traveller in China is exempt from the territorial jurisdiction of the local authorities and has to be handed over to the nearest consuls of his own state in cases of delinquency. No Chinese authorities can search the house or boat or property of any foreigners on Chinese territory. Even independent post offices have been established by foreigners in twenty-five treaty ports, and Japanese have commenced starting police booths in Manchuria and Fukien. It is easy to conceive how under these circumstances the foreign commercial activities and social relations of the Chinese people are hampered to the detriment of their future development.

And of course the absence of judicial autonomy deprives China of a great part of sovereignty. Abolition of extra-territoriality looms large therefore in the demands of the Chinese Republic. And the claim is being put forward by Young China on the ground that it has reformed the code of laws according to modern ideas, has instituted a new system of tribunals and has also promulgated the independence of the judiciary through the

permanent constitution that is waiting to be accepted by parliament.

### 3. *Treaty-ports*

Extra-territoriality is diffused in every part of the land. But it is in the "open" ports on the sea-coast, on the rivers or in the interior that it is concentrated. The first ports were opened to the British by the treaty of Nanking in 1842 at Amoy, Canton, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. In 1858 the Treaty of Tientsin opened to the British the Yang-tsze River as well as several ports. Down to 1909, in addition to forty-eight 'treaty-ports' twenty-seven places were declared open to international trade. Besides, on the Yang-tsze River today there are nine stages, and on the West River twentyone stages described as ports of call. Each of these ports and stages, as extra-territoriality localized, is the embodiment of China's political humiliation and servitude.

Ten of these treaty ports have separate foreign "settlements." These have not indeed been leased out or sold to the powers; but the administrative management of these areas lies wholly in their hands. Practically, therefore, they do not belong to China and fall outside of her sovereign jurisdiction. The *legal* status of Shanghai or Hankow is certainly different from that of Hongkong or Macao, but in foreign and Chinese eyes the former do not differ from the latter, so far as actual political authority is concerned.

Political refugees from China, for instance, enjoy in these "settlements" all the immunities of asylum that they can possibly expect in England, Japan or America. The foreign consular authorities would hardly entertain any demands of the Chinese government as to extradition of political criminals. This circumstance may have been of considerable help in Young China's liberal movements. But here is an acid test of sovereignty that proves none the less that Shanghai, Hankow and other ports like these are not parts of Chinese territory but have become foreign (slightly internationalized perhaps) "possessions" by prescription.

*4. Financial vassalage*

The most important source of China's subjection to foreigners consists in her inability to bear the burden of a modern state and the legacies of unsuccessful wars, including the misfortunes of the Boxer tragedy. Hence her financial indebtedness. At present there are four classes of Chinese debts. First in time and importance are the indemnity and war loans. Secondly there are the loans contracted for the building of railways. Loans for the construction of telegraph lines, the improvement of currency and the introduction of reforms in the general administrative system constitute a heavy third item. Lastly there are the provincial and private loans.

It must be understood that there is nothing derogatory in foreign loans as such. In modern times investments are international, and capital tends to seek a world market. Even great powers have to float loans among foreign peoples. But China's borrowing do not belong to the same category. They give rise to a "problem," because enormous security is demanded by the foreign creditors.

Revenues of the maritime customs (after payment of amortization and interest of the previous loans pledged on these revenues), total revenue of the salt gabelle, revenues of railway, profits of and mortgage upon railways, opium taxes, first charge upon likin (tax imposed upon goods in inland transit) and internal revenues in certain provinces, sundry taxes, rice tax, certain telegraph receipts, tobacco, wine, production and consumption taxes in Manchurian provinces, and the new salt surtax of the whole of China—these are the more important classes of securities that the Chinese republic has to ear-mark against its loans. "Collaterals" such as these were demanded in the loans to Persia by Great Britain and Russia, but were not necessary in America's private and government loans to France or Italy during the Great War.

China's finances indicate that every resource worth anything has been pledged and every inch of the soil mortgaged. The whole country may be said to have been auctioned off to foreigners. Besides, the terms of the loans give the creditors a

legal (in addition to the moral) right to interfere in the administration of assets and the disbursements. Students of Turkish finance since 1881 are familiar with a similar but more effective European control of revenues in a degenerate state. America's refusal to participate in the Six-Power-Loan to Yuan Shih-kai in 1912 on the ground that it might lead to intervention in China's internal politics is the best commentary on the condition of China's sovereignty as affected by the financial situation. Today in China every important undertaking of the government, every work of public utility, the collection of revenue, the management of post offices, railways, or iron and steel factories is being bossed by foreign advisers and experts. The maritime customs, salt gabelle and some other departments in Chinese administration are almost as alien in personnel and inspiration or guidance as any government office in British India or Japanese Korea. This aspect of China's vassalage is likely to acquire prominence in American public life in the coming years because by joining England, France and Japan in the New Loan Consortium (1920) on the usual terms the government of the United States and the American banking group have at last formally bidden adieu to the idealism of the last decade and submitted to the inevitable decree of historical determinism.

##### *5. Tariff restrictions and Boxer indemnity*

China's financial vassalage and consequent curtailment of political independence are enhanced by two sets of unjust treaties with the powers that powerfully cripple her industry and commerce. The first are the tariff regulations agreed on between Great Britain and China by the treaty of Nanking in 1842 and the second is the Boxer treaty of 1901. In 1842 China bound herself not to levy a tariff exceeding 5 per cent *ad valorem* on imported and exported goods. In 1902 by the Mackay treaty with England China was granted the right to levy a surtax of 7 per cent on imported goods on certain conditions, and in 1917 the tariff was raised to an effective 5 per cent as a concession for China's joining the allies. By the "most favoured nation" clause all treaty powers automatically enjoy the tariff privileges first extended to Great Britain.

The present uniform rate of 5 per cent *ad valorem* is too low to protect the infant industries of China and is at the same time quite inadequate as a fiscal resource. In 1914 only 9 per cent of China's total revenue was derived from customs, whereas import duties levied by Great Britain in spite of her "free trade" policy amounted to 22 per cent of her revenues. It is the meagreness of the customs receipts that has compelled China to retain the onerous medieval inland-transit duties called *likin* though they militate enormously against the domestic and foreign trade of the country. No wonder, then, that the restoration of tariff autonomy by revision of commercial treaties has been one of the most pressing demands of Young China both as an economic and as a political measure.

The inadequacy of China's revenues and the eternal necessity for foreign loans are further accounted for by the exorbitant indemnities imposed by the powers in 1901. Imperial China was saddled with a first charge of \$350,000,000 on her revenues to be paid to thirteen nations (Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, Japan, United States, Italy, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Suan, Portugal, Holland and Norway-Sweden). The terms of compound interest were so inequitable that after annual payments for sixteen years the outstanding debt in 1917 was still \$560,000,000 (although by declaring war China's debts to Germany and Austria were cancelled by a stroke of pen)! Cancellation of the remaining indemnity (and not a mere postponement for five years as has been conceded by the allies in consideration of China's association with them against Germany) is therefore a cry that the Chinese delegates naturally raised before the Peace Conference (1919).

#### *6. Industrial tutelage*

Young China has to feel every moment that the entire country is honey-combed with the foreign centres of economic activity. The railway, industrial, and mining concessions granted to the commercial syndicates of foreign nations are inevitably due to China's lack of brain and bullion. One need not be blind to the "development" of the country thus effected by foreigners. But

it is a curse in disguise so far as the people are concerned. On the one hand, the concession-seekers are used to bring pressure upon their home governments in order that they may stand by them with their army and navy and with the prestige of their flag in the fields of their exploitation. Every industrial venture in China becomes in this manner an affair of "foreign politics." On the other hand, the rivalry of the *concessionaires* among themselves first for profiteering and secondly for the shibboleth of their nationalities introduces international complications into China's every day life.

The Bagdad Railway is the classic example of the stupendous international animosity created by a foreign commercial movement in the territory of an undeveloped people. Bagdad railways in China are plentiful as blackberries. The net result is perpetual intrigue, "management," corruption ; and this affects also the spheres of life far removed from trade and industry. Even in the appointment of teachers for elementary or secondary schools, and in the selection of textbooks for boys and girls, the organizers of institutions have to consider the ulterior and more remote consequences of displaying sympathy with the countrymen of Washington, Nelson, Napoleon, or Bismark. The industrial and commercial competition of foreign nations turns out thus to be the greatest single cause of demoralization in the public life of China. It has rendered any systematic policy or unified method of administration virtually impossible. The statesmen as well as the people of China are constantly swayed by every random gust of wind.

#### 7. *Servitude of the mind*

China has to submit to foreign intervention of a subtle and sinister character through the missionizing establishments of Christians and the philanthropic charity of America. It is recognized by all consular authorities that missionaries are great though non-official agents of their national industry and commerce. On the dominated peoples the evangelists exercise a tremendous influence, which in a few cases is purely cultural and moral, but in almost all instances, is due to their financial

opulence and the name of the powers they represent. The influence extends from the saving of a life at court as amnesty to the removal of an officer from some high post.

The patriots of China are not blind to the fact that America's return (in 1908) of 40 per cent of the Boxer indemnity in order to be spent on education may have been dictated, in the first place, by the consideration that the indemnity was exorbitant, and secondly, by the consciousness, though belated, of her sins committed against Chinese immigrants from 1855 to 1904. But conceding that it was a disinterested transaction, students of international relations may legitimately feel that it is none the less an "intervention," because it does not happen to be the charity of individual citizens like that embodied in Rockefeller Foundations but the grant-in-aid from a sovereign state. Besides, it serves to demoralize Young China through the unseen but effective control on Chinese mind exercised by American action in the politics of eastern Asia. China's liberal statesmen fear it therefore as the most powerful weapon for perpetuating a strong anti-Japanese movement in their country, and not only for preventing the growth of friendly relations between the yellow races but also for crushing the development of a sound Asian policy among the Chinese. The moral backbone of the Chinese youth is likely to be destroyed by what to all intents and purposes constitutes an international bribery unless some counteracting spiritual forces be forthcoming. Young China has felt the humiliation already and seems to be quite alive to the danger. Under the *nom de plume* of Chung-hwa Sing somebody writes in the *Chinese Student's Monthly* (November, 1915): "Many of us are indemnity scholars. Your being in this country (United States) is the very memory of our national disgrace in 1900." It is this spirit of resentment that is slowly preparing the Chinese *risorgimiento* of the coming decades.

## VI. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SEMI-SLAVE

From the standpoint of the "superior races" a full-fledged dependency like India, Madagascar, Java, or Korea is a closed question unless, as during war times, its cause is espoused by

the enemy of the alien ruler. Normally it has no troubles except what may be created by the disarmed militarism and impotent insurrections of the subject race. But the daily life of people in a "sphere of influence," a Morocco, Abyssinia, Persia, or China, is a perpetual menace to the peace between the powers. For it is subject to thousand and one restrictions, imposed without law and resented without vigor, all the more serious because of their extent being boundless and significance mysterious. Such spheres are necessarily the eternal storm-centres of the world.

These "half-way houses" to foreign rule, where the legally constituted authority dare not exercise its jurisdiction except in a halting fashion, where indeed sovereignty is by law vested in one hand but in actual practice in a neighbour that happens to possess military and economic might, are the surest hotbeds of wholesale mischief. They do not fail to corrupt the financiers, diplomatists, and *concessionaires* at the same time that they vitiate and poison the mentality and outlook of the indigenous people. Thus they engender a social *milieu* in which normal humanity is kept in abeyance.

The subject races or slaves *de jure* can have a clear-cut and precise attitude to the foreign masters. The Polands of the world can "localize" the wrongs they suffer, and concentrate their mind as to the remedy although the nature and extent of its success depends in the ultimate analysis on the international intrigue and competition to which the ruling race is exposed. Even when rendered morally incapable of noteworthy civic or public virtues through longstanding political subjection, these unfortunate specimens of the race Adamic can still be vitalized by the galvanic spirituality of patriotism. Dynamic love of fatherland continues to survive as the last redeeming feature of dependent peoples. But the men and women of buffer-states, spheres of influence, semi-free nationalities and protectorates, i.e. the slaves *de facto* but not *de jure* are driven from pillar to post in the attempt to appease the myriads of gods. And in the repercussion that ensues the national animus of vindictiveness loses its intensity and impelling force. Human beings like these are the spiritual and moral *pariahs* of mankind, the only class of slaves that have no *locus standi* in the universe.

Such is the dehumanizing situation that the Chinese Republic has received as heirloom from the Imperial China of 1841—1911. The constitutional struggle of Young China is therefore of trifling importance compared with the international anomalies that are swaying its comatose existence between the actual atrophy of today and the possible extinction of tomorrow.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

## INTEGRATION OR ISOLATION?

“In the war they (the Dominions and India) had been in our war council, in the Peace they were part of the Cabinet that decided the policy of the British Empire, and determined the destines of Europe. Events of that character imperceptibly without writing down rules and regulations, without framing written constitutions, determine the constitution of the Empire(1).” Is there any difference in tone between this periphrastic summary and the concluding iteration of Mr. Asquith in the conference of 1911 on the “old well-trodden but ever lengthening and widening road for British liberty?” Again Mr. Long emphasised in the same tone when he pronounced the solution to be in “evolution not in any tremendous root and branch change.”

Bearing in mind this guiding principle of the responsible statesmen of Great Britain about the constitutional aspect of the British Empire, a glance at the historical development of the new Imperial idea as viewed from both the sides, is bound to be of considerable value in any study about their future. Orators have begun to call it, “the first great successful League of Free Nations” which the world has ever seen. What is in fact the British Empire of to-day? Answers Professor Dicey, (2) “The Imperial Parliament still claims the possession of absolute Sovereignty throughout every part of the British Empire. The constitution of a Dominion in general originates in and depends upon an Act or Acts of the Imperial Parliament.” Constitutionally, this is perfectly true, what in practice is the status of the Self-governing Dominions? They have been described by the Premier “as independent nations inside the British Empire.” Dependent countries like India and Ceylon where the seeds of responsible Government are being sown are also inside this vast Empire.

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(1) Speech of Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on 18th August, 1921.

(2) A. V. Dicey : *Law of the Constitution : Introduction.*

The fatalistic indifference theory which prevailed sixty years ago has been replaced by an universal desire to draw closer the bonds of Imperial connection. To this end, the progress of the Self-governing Colonies, the more and more evident fact of English dependance on other countries for food, the increasing size of foreign powers like Italy and Germany, the rapid development of the United States of America, the consequent littleness of England if a single member in the family of States, the added burden of military and naval expenditure pressing heavily on her own shoulders, the lesson of the Boer War and the "apparent" success of federation elsewhere, led to the weighty opinion of a minority towards the solution of an Imperial Federation.

The history of this idea of Imperial Federation is briefly told. A league under that caption was founded in 1884, when public opinion was not yet ripe for it. It was only with reference to the Self-governing Colonies. India and the Crown Colonies would under the scheme have been governed by the mother-country or the federation as a whole. In other words, it meant that a population of 42 million of the United Kingdom with another 13 million from the Self-governing Colonies were to rule over 370 million of British Subjects having no active share at all in the administration. We shall revert to the fate of this idea after a brief survey of the work of the conferences that have done not a little to cement the bond of connection.

Even so, the consultations with the Colonial Premiers in 1887, 1897, 1902, and 1907 led to closer political connection. Meetings to be styled 'Imperial Conferences' were arranged to be held once in four years at the last of these meetings. That this was a congress of *diplomats* and not an organ of government should be borne in mind. At this stage, arose various constitutional remedies out of the brains of thinkers. The idea of a Parliamentary Federation was rejected by Roseberry. As Lowell puts it, "to admit Colonial Members to the House for all practical purposes would increase the obstacle to the smooth working of the Parliamentary System." To admit them for Imperial purposes alone would also mean an unworkability of the principle of responsibility. Thus the idea of direct representation in the House of Commons died a natural death.

To find out a real Imperial Authority outside the British Parliament, say by the creation of an Imperial Council, was no less difficult. The resulting fall in the status of the historic British Parliament, the unworkability of any fixed majority for certain kinds of action—familiar to every student of the German Bundesrath—in a federation of free nations, the question of direct or indirect taxation with the consequential fierce dissensions from both the sides, and the necessity of a surrender of powers prior to any confederation—these were some of the technical and practical difficulties. When we put along with this(3), “the deadweight of inertia characteristic of the British temperament, the solution was not at all likely to make headway. Sir Wilfrid Laurier wanted to leave things to take their own course, and the position of India was coolly left out of account. One need not be surprised then when he peruses the pointed criticism of the British Parliament by Sir Robert Borden in 1912. Surely, “a Parliament which spends so large a portion of its time and energies in discussing and determining questions of purely domestic concern, can hardly be regarded as an Imperial Parliament in the highest or truest sense”. Further, Sir Sydney Low (4) criticised the then existing constitution for want of a common legislature, a common financial or fiscal system or an Imperial Executive. The British view of development is best seen in the defeat of Sir Joseph Ward's Resolution for an Imperial Foreign Office in 1911.

The scheme of Sir Joseph Ward may be described in some detail since it conveys an approach of the problem from the colonial side. It was meant to have a share in Imperial Defence, in the direction of Imperial Policy and in the control and management of dependencies. The deciding authority in case of a clash of interests between two dependencies was not made clear.

The conference of 1911 is memorable for the inauguration of a Committee of Imperial Defence, whose development and organization are mainly due to the efforts of Asquith and Balfour. Barring certain regulations regarding naturalisation and copy-

(3) Leacock's *Elements of Political Science*.

(4) King's College Lectures on Colonial Subjects, 1913.

rights, the initiation of the Dominions into the secrets of Imperial Policy was the chief outcome of this conference.

The question of constitutional relations was to have been taken up in 1915 but the extraordinary conditions created by the war necessitated a postponement of the issue. "Is it certain that the Self-governing Colonies would, at a great loss to themselves, cling to England in a quarrel which was not of their making?" For once this question of Lowell was answered in a manner by the Dominions which astonished not a little the Imperialists. This response of 2½ million men from the Dominions and India to the rescue of the distressed mother-country was bound to have revolutionary effects in any connected account of future relations.

New features since 1916 are to be pointed out in order to indicate which way the wind is blowing. The separation of the Imperial Cabinet from the British Ministry, the association of Dominion and Indian Representatives with the former body, and the novel status of the Prime Minister are remarkable lines of development.

That the Dominions are aiming at the maximum of internal independence and external watchfulness is increasingly becoming evident. The proposal of Mr. Hughes in 1917 for the inauguration of an Imperial Court of appeal superseding the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the House of Lords though not passed, is a most suggestive plea. That the meaning of the move has been more than understood by the mother-country is evident from the nature of the royal recommendations to the Privy Council.

It may be permissible to trace out the results of the last August Imperial Conference. Meanwhile the permission to appoint Canada's own Minister in Washington marks a distinct constitutional advance, though a recent writer in the American *Political Science Quarterly* remarks that this issue has been "sidetracked" by the personnel appointed to the place. A close perusal of the Premier's speech goes also to show that in peace no less than in the conduct of the war, the policy of the British Empire was arrived at only after consultation with the component parts of the Empire.

Characteristically, the constitutional aspect of the Empire which was to have been discussed in 1921 at any rate, seems to have been left to take its own course. Whether we go through the speeches of Hughes or Massey, one serious complaint runs through them all : the difficulty of travelling farther away from their countries "when they have got very important affairs of their own to attend to". Eventually, the possibilities of improving communications were discussed at some length and more particularly the future of the aeroplane was touched upon. The necessity of meeting oftener has been seriously felt on all sides.

The legitimacy of the right of the Dominions to have a voice in the "fashioning" of the foreign policy of the Empire has been very willingly accepted by the Premier. A delicate situation in the course of a discussion on the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in a mighty critical atmosphere, was got over through the timely intervention of the Chancellor with the "twelve months' notice". Another important outcome was the anxiety of the Dominions and India to guard their own independence with respect to the form and extent of naval contribution. For once India was known to the outside world through the acceptance of the principle of "equality of citizenship" by the Dominions. The well-reasoned plea of the nominated Indian Representative to allow in future the Indian Legislature to elect its own representative was striking enough.

Where are the Dominions drifting? He would be a bold-man who tried to foretell that the way to complete independence has been markedly paved by the Canadian Minister at Washington. Why then did Mr. Bonar Law say in the House of Commons that if Canada were to choose complete independence, the mother-country had simply to say "God-speed" to the aged daughter? Does not a strikingly manly tone characterize the speeches of General Smuts and Massey?

Nor is it wide of the mark if one were to emphasise the new wave of loyalty to the "Keystone of the Imperial arch." We have only to visualise to ourselves the warmth of reception extended to the "greatest ambassador." Do we not see Colonial P.C.'s adorning the Judicial Committee? Is not centralization in the administration of law one of the most powerful of forces

for political unification? Though the control over foreign policy may not in practice seem actually so, is not the Imperial Parliament still the repository of Imperial Sovereignty?

As in all such cases a single word like "integration" can never indicate the profound significance of the rapid strides which the Dominions have made. Close readers of the recent speeches of Smuts and Massey can alone estimate aright the significance of each Dominion voting independently in the League. It has to be added with a certain amount of warmth by the Welsh Lawyer that "they were independent nations inside the British Empire which gave them all this power." To put it constitutionally, with Dicey we have to remark that "the omnipotence in short of Parliament though theoretically admitted has been applied in its full effect only to the United Kingdom."

Whether he be the "little Englander" if there be still such a being, a strewd observer of the type of Mr. Bonar Law, or even the ever-easily-adjusting Welsh Premier himself it will be only quite natural to see at no distant time the Imperial Parliament acceding to a demand from other Self-governing Dominions for their own *ambassadors* wherever they feel them absolutely indispensable. If one Dominion feels it quite necessary to have Final Court of Appeal within its four walls, it may not again be out of the way at all to expect an Act of Parliament authorising the same. The times of evolution are quite clear; yet he will be a rash man who predicts a Declaration of Independence on the part of any Dominion for decades to come; for, modern Anglo-Saxon Statesmanship knows best where to "interfere."

K. R. RAMA SASTRY.

## NATIONALISM OF NIPPON: AS HINDUSTAN SEES IT.

Nippon,\* literally 'the land of the rising sun,' is the name of the principal island, also called Honshu in the native country, of the group known to the world as Japan or rather the Japanese Empire. The name was given by the people of Korea, who saw the sun rise from the direction of that country. In Nippon there is a tree called Japan, from the juice of which the well-known point Japan-black is prepared, that is extensively used in painting, and the western nations began to call the country Japan. We in India are also more familiar with the western name of the country than her original names. Although the empire was first called Ammat after the first imperial city of the same name, founded by the first emperor Amma, the whole group of islands was at a time better known by the name Nippon, not only to Korea and China, but to the whole of the Asiatic continent. Finally, however, the name Japan has become universal.

Japan has in recent years, and especially after her victory over Russia, been accused of her westernization in almost all departments of activity. And perhaps the accusation is right to no small extent: Look at the army, the navy the country keeps,—and all other ways and means adopted by her not merely for defence, but equally if not more, for offence after the model of western nations—and you will be fairly convinced of the greed, the desire of one people for exploitation of others. Japan's tyranny upon mild Korea for so many years, her insults to noble China on many an occasion during the days of the latter's trouble, her domination and exploitation of poor Formosa in the name of civilization and culture, all this will tend to suggest that there is perhaps very little left in the present-day Japanese of what constitutes Asiatic nobleness.

It was amazing, therefore, to hear a declaration, now a score of years back, from the lips of a Japanese statesman and patriot,

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\*Nippon is a compound word comprising *niti* and *pon*. *Niti* means sun, and *pon* means source. Nippon, *the source of the sun*.

Okakura-Kakuzo that "Asia is one".<sup>†</sup> There is a cultural unity of all Asia<sup>‡</sup>, a fundamental basis of meeting ground for all eastern peoples, and Japan with her noble past will not prove unworthy of the great ideal of oneness, nobleness and fellow-feeling. One who will closely study the Japanese people and their literature, and also literature about them, and go deep into the heart of the people, will not be dissuaded by the generally accepted belief that they will for all time remain a *sishya*, an out-and-out disciple of materialistic west. In fact there are signs, visible to the deep-seeking eye, of Asiatic calmness and nobility in the still existing, still surviving customs practised and beliefs entertained by the common people in the country of Japan.

No doubt the ideal of material civilization, with all its prospects and possibilities of greater physical comfort—not necessarily mental peace—has found favour with a large section of people in Japan, just as we find in our own country. But there is some deep-rooted seed observable through the daily practices of the average man and woman of Japan. That seed, now covered by a plaster of materialism by one section of the modern population, will one day grow into a firm tree. Signs are visible in our own country of such a growth and the cloud of delusion has already begun to disappear. Our sister country Japan will also not be otherwise ultimately.

Take the case of her religion. The practical creed of the main Japanese religion is Shintoism, which is a simple worship of their gods and also ancestors—who, according to their belief, do become gods after their final birth. Therefore, in worshipping gods and ancestors the Japanese worship divine beings (Devas), for gods are the materialised manifestations of the attributes and forces of God Himself, the summing-up of which attributes and forces, God—in His energy—is. By daily loving contemplations of these concentrated manifestations of the attributes and forces of God, the Japanese absorb, more or less according to the degree of concentration, some of these attributes

<sup>†</sup> *Vide* Okakura's *Ideals of the East*.

<sup>‡</sup> It is gratifying to note Mr. James H. Cousins is writing a book entitled *The Cultural unity of Asia* for the Asian Library (T. P. House, Adyar, Madras).

and forces. This creates within them a divine atmosphere, a spiritual sense, little by little through their daily meditation and service of the gods by the offerings they make, of food and drink. These offerings build sentiments of devotion along with the prayers.

Besides this ancestor-worship, the Japanese have an instinctive devotion to their king, the Mikado. It is unparalleled in these days on the face of the world. They love and adore the Mikado, whom they believe to be a descendant of Amma, the first Mikado, who was an incarnation of God. This Amma is probably a corruption of our own divine king incarnate Rama; for an additional evidence is furnished by the fact that, according to the Japanese traditions, the Mikados are born in the line of the Sun-god, which is perhaps no other than that they are descendants of the Solar race (Surya-vamsa) of Kshatriyas to which our Sri Ramachandra, the divine incarnation, belonged. But whatever may be at the bottom of this coincidence, the fact remains that the Japanese, in loving the Mikado as a fleshly manifestation of the Supreme Being, with all the deepest homage other peoples render to God or His incarnation, practically love and adore God Himself. Whether the Mikado is Heaven-descended or not, it does not matter the least. It is the Japanese belief in the Mikado that counts. If anybody worships a tomb believing the tomb to be the very saint whose earthly body was buried underneath, he worships the saint and not a dead stone. In the same way the Japanese loving homage to their divine Mikado absorbs the qualities and the spirit of divinity.

The Japanese worship of their King is no lip-worship; it is a whole-hearted worship as everybody visiting the country will see for himself. Not only everything of and about the Mikado is holy, but the average Japanese will do anything for or at the command of, the Mikado, and lay down his or her life at his bidding or to serve him. This unique devotion of a people to their king reminds one of the old days of India, of Sri Rama and the people of Ajodhya, whose love for their beloved king was even more than their love for their own flesh and blood.

Thus Shintoism and Mikadoism have helped the Japanese to be doubly spiritual. Passionate devotion itself, such as the

Japanese feel and exhibit towards their gods, ancestors and king, generates a mind force which feeds one of the greatest moral dynamos in the world. The patriotism of Japan is an all-round patriotism whose conscience and energy are derived from the soul and exhals the patriot in every respect. Their noble treatment of the enemy and of prisoners in general is due to a high order of moral force born of a very highly developed spiritual instinct.

Thus the nationalism of Nippon is an innately native and an allround indigenous nationalism, and its mainsprings and roots are deep down in her whole-souled divine worship, in the form of Shintoism, and sacred devotion to the king. Her higher class people may have donned the armours of western civilization and adopted the methods of western warfare and western tricks of trade only to protect their country from the aggressive onslaughts of western powers in fields of battle and commerce; but in her heart, and in her soul, Nippon, with her old-world, all-enduring institutions, is enthroned in all her ancient glory. Her conscience is linked with the conscience of the past, her consciousness guards the twin deities thereof—devotion to gods and ancestors, and to the king. Okakura-Kakuzo, the great Japanese writer, has aptly put it, that it is the Renaissance of Shintoism that has built up once again the nationalism of Japan. Go to Japan and study her people closely and carefully with the light of wisdom, unshadowed by the darkness of what is called modern civilization, and you will find that the average Japanese is instinctively opposed to the new world ways and habits of life.

It will be interesting to note that Japan has not transplanted the western forms of nationalism *in toto* to her soil, nor has she ever sought relief at the hands of any foreign people. Count Okuma, a great Japanese statesman, whose death was recently announced, in a contribution on "Indian Aspirations" to the *Japan Times* wrote: "Our pride never allowed to seek relief in retailing our heart-burnings to outsiders. Even if we had a mind to do so we could not have done it. We had a great and no slave neighbour, China—herself an Asiatic; but to have confided to her our troubles would have been to invite upon our heads her ridicule. All other Asiatic peoples would

have done more or less the same thing towards us, while to turn to western powers would have been worse. So that whatever we have thought and done we had to for ourselves, except in the way of seeking for knowledge wherever it could be found."

The confidence of a whole people in King and divine dispensation is rare in this modern world of scepticism and selfishness. But it has been possible for Japan to exhibit this throughout her history because her national consciousness is based upon divine belief. It is not impossible that she received this belief from the Hindus, a most ancient people, whose god-worship and also ancestor worship in the form of *sraddha* and *tarpan* and offerings of *pindas*, is as old as the hills. Professor R. Kimura, the great Japanese scholar now in India, further believes that the Japanese people themselves are a branch of one or other of the great Indian races\*. (Nobody has, however, proved without doubt this assertion made not only by Professor Kimura but by a few other eastern and western scholars; but there is enough evidence that in ancient days—even in pre-Christian time—our forefathers went to Tibet, China, Japan, Sumatra, Java and such other places, to preach the Gospel of Gautama, and a considerable number of our people migrated to those lands and stayed there.†)

There is however one section of our country, namely the so-called educated community,—westernized and totally de-nationalized—that have lost faith in gods and God. In Japan also there has grown a similar section of people as a result of the one-sided materialistic idea being propagated throughout the world. These are but signs of the time. This godless spirit was trying, in both the countries, with considerable force—and are still hoping to try in milder forms—to build up a new nationalism with materials entirely outlandish and unsuited to any eastern clime. But fortunately for ourselves, this spirit has

\*Vide Prof Kimura's recent contribution to the Bengali historical monthly magazine, *Itihasa-o-alochara* for the saura month Bhadrapadal 1328 Vangabda (1978 Samvat), corresponding to August-September, 1921 A. D.

†Prof. Panduranga S. Pissurlencar of Goa, in his interesting research, published in French, entitled. *La Decouverte l'Amérique par les hommes de l'Inde*, has gone so far as to assert that America was discovered and colonized by the ancient people of India.

received quite an effective check, comparatively in recent times, at the hands of a number of *sadhus* and other selfless persons scattered throughout the length and breadth of India, who by their noble thought and action and force of truth were able to counteract the ideas of western nationalism. A large number of our population have now found out the grievous error of following the example of western nations, and have been anxious to build a true Indian nation—the Dharma of old. At such a time has appeared on the Indian field a unique person of plain living and high thinking—an ideal man and leader of men who by his force of truth has been able to convince the vast Indian population that the modern civilization with its multiplicity of aims and requirements is something unholy and devilish; and modern life as interpreted in terms of that civilization is abhorrent to the instincts of a *dharmic* people. Indians, the people of India as a whole, have understood that modern or western civilization has no real foundation, as shewn by the results of the last huge war. No ultimate peace can be arrived at under the conditions of modern civilization, the world now a days, in the words of the poet is

“A world half blind  
 With intellectual light, half brutalised  
 With civilization—tearing East and West  
 Along a thousand railways, mad with pain  
 And sin too.”

India has turned her eyes from the glamour of western complexity of life to the peace and beauty of her time-honoured simplicity of social structure. The high idea will propagate like wild fire from one country to another, and there is no doubt that all peace-loving, gentle people of Tibet, China, Japan and all Asia will catch it in the near future as in the days of old when India’s light was the light of Asia, which enlightened the far-off regions. If Japan will continue to remain for long enamoured of modern civilization, it is feared, she will have to live as a parasite on the Asiatic soil, will be living the life of a foreigner in her native land.

Japan is after all a monarchy. If the people will allow themselves to be moulded under the fashion of materialistic west, it is quite possible that the still-existing mighty semskaras (instincts) of Shintoism and Mikadoism will ultimately all vanish, hardly leaving any trace behind ; and all forms of conflicting elements will be forthcoming. People of Japan should preserve this Shintoism and Mikadoism too at any cost. They cannot do it without going back to their past ideals of simplicity. In the present age of democracy monarchy can exist only under conditions such as are still prevalent in Japan—a state of things in which the people's love for the king as well as king's love for the people knows no end. Let the Japanese study the Ramayana, let their common folk derive inspiration in their daily life and toil from that holy book, just as the common people of Hindustan do from Tulasidasa's Hindustani version and similar other works. Let the popular leaders of Japan arrange discourses like our *kathas* on incidents of Rama's life and let them send out simple dramatic parties like *Ramalilas* and *jatras* to the innermost portions of their villages. On the other hand let the Mikado himself with the popular representatives in the governing body be believers in Rama Chandra the divine king, and mould their conduct on the lines of examples shewn by Rama. People of India still believe that any misfortunes like a famine, failure of rains and crops, a pestilence, are due to the sin of the king under whose charge their destiny has placed them—and that in turn is the result of their own *karma*. Had India been under an Indian Mikado—a paramount king descended directly from the King-Incarnate Ramchandra, the people would not have perhaps cherished the idea of a republic.

Let Japan take the lesson while there is yet time, and enjoy real peace, the peace that is sought after by the people of India to-day under the leadership of an ideal man.

SATIS C. GUHA.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

### A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

#### The Women of Thomas Hardy.

“I wish you had killed Tess in the first chapter!” said a lady to Thomas Hardy many years ago. Few are likely to agree with such a drastic request, for in *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* Hardy has achieved his finest work. Such writers as Mr. Eden Phillpotts and Miss Sheila Kaye Smith have been content with Devon or Sussex for local colour. Their characters, clearly defined and cleverly treated, are never flung into the vortex of a struggle against a power that mocks at human effort and human desire. But in Hardy’s work all his romance, his humour, even Egdon Heath itself, are controlled by an Omnipotent Being. His men and women move across the far-flung area of Wessex, but their movement is regulated by the same force that makes itself felt in the plays of Euripides and Sophocles. Such a treatment may be true to life in its deeper meaning, but it is a truth, so hopeless and so ruthless, that it has estranged many readers of Hardy’s work.

A first impression of Hardy’s women is not altogether satisfactory. His knowledge of the feminine seems a little superficial, and he seldom ascribes to women the intellectual qualities we associate with those of George Meredith and Henry James, or those shrewd intimate touches we get from Arnold Bennett and W. L. George. They never scintillate wit, but they invariably glow with strong human feeling. It is not Hardy’s business to portray such exceptional women as Marie Bashkirtseff, Madame Sevigne, or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. His women are essentially emotional. Sometimes they are “a bunch of sweets” whose sweetness is Victorian, and sometimes their perverseness, as in the character of Fancy Day, is almost irritating. But Hardy’s women are always feminine, and they are feminine within certain well-defined limitations—from fickleness and general instability—by creating two women of unforgettable nobility of character.

We may roughly divide Hardy's women into those who belong to the well-to-do classes and those who are peasants or artisans. It is the women who follow a humble calling in life who are the most convincingly described in the Wessex novels, and Hardy is as successful in dealing with the coarse Arabella as he is with the essentially refined, but almost inarticulate, Marty South.

Bathsheba Everdene is a finely-drawn character, but she does not possess the alluring charm nor complex emotion of Eustacia Vye. Of Hardy's intellectual women she is, with one exception, the most convincing, notwithstanding the fact that occasionally she is made the mouthpiece of a kind of paganism that belongs rather to Hardy himself than to Eustacia Vye. She is probably the most complex of the Wessex women. She is capable of blowing hot and cold, and occasionally she is the victim of curiosity. Her infinite variety rules out the possibility of a stable and equable disposition, but she is never commonplace. She is as full of surprises as H. G. Wells's *Ponderevo*. She can descend to the weakness of an infatuated schoolgirl, but she can, and does, rise to the dignity of a queen capable of bestowing her favours with a royal hand : the hand which the adoring Charley held and kissed by way of reward for his services. We never know completely Eustacia Vye, and therein lies her abiding charm. More rapid changes flit across her life than are to be seen on Egdon Heath from spring to winter. She exudes a mystery of her own, and is always elusive. She has none of the simple devotion of Tess, nor the fine self-sacrifice of Marty South. She is conscious of her beauty and her power, and uses both with no regard for convention and with no concern for the feelings of others. She can withhold love with the fanatical strength of an ascetic, and she can yield to her passion with reckless abandon.

Hardy has not described Eustacia Vye with cold detachment. He seems to have lingered lovingly over every line in her face and figure. He is lavish in his praise when he describes her as possessing "the raw material of a divinity". One almost questions if the material were raw after all. It was certainly not if the divinity hailed from Olympus. Hardy writes : "To see her hair was to fancy that a whole winter did not contain darkness enough

to form its shadow.” It was when those tresses were touched that she almost attained peace. Egdon never soothed Eustacia. The place suggested cruelty, and she detested it. That desolate ridge added to her restlessness, increased her loneliness. It seemed to her relentless in its strength, sinister in all its moods. She hungered for one thing, and one thing only—love, and when Wildeve presented himself to her, she played with him as a cat plays with a mouse. When she married Clym Yeobright possession shattered her romance. She discovered that looking into Cupid’s Garden is the supreme moment of happiness, and that getting inside is one long desolation. She learnt the wisdom of Anatole France’s words : “We love only what we do not know.” Most women are essentially personal in their love; but Eustacia was not. She craved “for the abstraction called passionate love,” and in that she hungered for the unattainable. She wanted much more than an Olympian goddess who was content to wed either a god or a man perhaps because the distinction was so slight as to be hardly recognised in those days when the human and the divine were inseparable. Like Keats, her heart was “a nest of loves”. She brooded over them all, and would gladly have given to all that which convention requires should only be given to one. Hardy tells us that “In heaven she will probably sit between the Heloises and the Cleopatras,” though it may be doubted if the dusky Queen of Egypt went to the celestial regions, or whether the too ardent spirit of Heloise was capable of sitting anywhere. Eustacia’s restlessness was never assuaged. She who could have loved a Saul or a Bonaparte was obviously not satisfied with either Yeobright or Wildeve. She climbed down Egdon, indifferent to the impress of her feet, and drowned herself in Shadwater Weir. The menacing power behind her life was too much for her. She knew nothing of Henley’s cheerful “I am the captain of my soul.” The majority of Hardy’s men and women are not allowed to conquer fate or circumstance. They are driven by both, and the force that drives them is too strong for conquest.

Of the philandering Mrs. Charmond, with her fitful but dangerous wooing, it is enough to say that Hardy has drawn her character with consummate skill, and in her way she is as impressive, but not as pleasing, as the more unsophisticated

Anne Garland. Grace Melbury is not a lovable, or even likable, woman. She awakens no sympathy even in her moments of most acute suffering. Her character is not sufficiently vigorous to make her capable of that terrible but dramatic *denouement* when, over the dead body of Giles Winterborne, she tells Fitzpiers that she has lived with the man she loved. From that statement Fitzpiers is allowed to infer "the extremist inference." It is a passage that does not ring true, and it would only ring true in a type of woman which Grace Melbury does not remotely resemble.

In *Desperate Remedies*, that tangled skein of plot and counter-plot, there is more of the sensational mystery of Wilkie Collins's stories than of Hardy as we know him in his mature work. But out of that welter of most cunningly-contrived intrigue that sometimes comes perilously near crude melodrama there emerge two memorable women characters, Miss Aldclyffe and Cytherea. The one imperious, dominating, abusive and passionate by turn, is happily contrasted with the other whose strength is always tempered by sweetness, and who, in spite of Hardy's "to be, or not to be" vagaries, is allowed to win through to happiness in the end. Miss Aldclyffe was a lady of decided opinions. She faced the truth bitterly: almost with a waspish sting. She would have laughed or frowned at the gentle absurdities of Ruskin on the high morality of village life. She observes: "Find a girl, if you can, whose mouth and ears have not been made a regular highway by some man or another! Leave the admittedly notorious spots—the drawing-rooms of society—and look in the villages—leave the villages and search in the schools—and you will hardly find a girl whose heart has not been *had*—is not an old thing half worn out by some He or another!" Miss Aldclyffe's heart had been tampered with in the days of her youth, and it had soured her outlook on life. She cherished no fond delusions on the subject of sex. Having denied the freshness of the heart of a woman, she poured bitterness into the masculine scale by telling Cytherea that her lover can never be exclusively her own. "'Why,' she observes, 'he has had other loves before you, trust him for that, whoever he is, and you are but a temporary link in a long chain of others like you: who only have your little day as they have had theirs.'" Hardy elaborates this point of view

to absurdity in *The Well-Beloved*, and in his preface he admits that the story is "frankly fantastic."

Tess is the one woman in the Wessex novels whose creation is for all time. She rises far above the other Hardy women, and she does so because in her character, intensely human and intensely loyal, there are imperishable qualities that make her supremely memorable. Of all the Wessex characters, be they men or women, who lie crushed and broken at the feet of the Omnipotent Being, Tess is the most fair, the most pitiable, the most lovable. Only those who cannot see her purity, and there were many who could not see it when the book was published, will be likely to cavil at giving her first place in the long gallery of Hardy's women. From Tess's journey with the beehives towards Casterbridge to the scene on Salisbury Plain and the prison at Wintoncester she remains a tragic creation without a peer in English literature.

Sue Bridehead occupies a place of her own. There was much in her character that would offend the orthodox theologian and the rigid moralist. She was impish, often flippant, in her humour, but although she was essentially feminine, she possessed more brains than any other of Hardy's women. She was broader-minded than Jude, who clung tenaciously to old traditions. She who cut up "the Epistles and Gospels into separate *brochures*" would have warmly welcomed the contemplated revision of the Prayer Book. Much to the horror of Miss Fontover she preferred statues of Venus and Apollo to Christian saints she described as "'those everlasting church fal-lals!'" Sue and Judge were not happily mated. Their union showed with devastating clearness an incompatibility of temperament. It must be admitted that Sue played with love. Like so many of Hardy's women she was intensely perverse, and even intellectually she was not stable. She might have lifted Jude up into better things, but she failed to do so. On one occasion Jude said to her: "'You have never loved me as I love you—never—never! yours is not a passionate heart—your heart does not burn in a flame! You are, upon the whole, cold—a sort of fay, or sprite—not a woman!'" But Jude was wrong in his estimate of Sue Bridehead. She was a woman to her finger-tips, but she regarded love as a rollicking adventure. She was

iconoclastic in her love and in her thought. She destroyed, but she never built something better from the *debris*. She understood much in her clear virile way, but she did not understand the aching heart of Jude. She released her hold upon him when he needed her most. When Jude was dying, he cried : “ ‘Water—some water—Sue—Arabella ! ’ ” But neither answered his call, and with extreme bitterness he whispered : “ ‘*Let the day perish wherein I was born, and the night in which it was said, There is a man child conceived.* ’ ”

Not many have done justice to Marty South. Hardy has never drawn a character with fewer lines and yet so deft is his work that every line tells. She is never in the limelight. She is in her cottage cutting gads, or out of doors planting trees. She is always in the background : quiet, strong, self-effacing. We seldom see her, but in the end she rises to a sublimity that places her near Tess herself. Marty’s hidden love was never satisfied, as it was with Tess when she was fleeing, with Angel Clare, from justice. Marty’s love mellowed with the passing of time. She could distinguish the different trees at night by the playing of the wind upon their branches, and the secrets of Nature were known to her. Only in the bitter-sweet moment when death seems to give her possession of her love does that usually mute woman become finely articulate. When she stood by the grave of Giles Winterborne, we read :

“ ‘Now, my own, own love,’ she whispered, ‘you are mine, and on’y mine ; for she has forgot ’ee at last, although for her you died ! But I—whenever I get up I’ll think of ’ee, and whenever I lie down I’ll think of ’ee. Whenever I plant the young larches I’ll think that none can plant as you planted, and whenever I split a gad, and whenever I turn the cider wring I’ll say none could do it like you. If ever I forget your name let me forget home and heaven ! But no, no my love, I never can forget ’ee ; for you was a good man, and did good thing ! ’ ”

Notwithstanding Hardy’s choice rustic humour and his incomparable descriptions of Nature, his tragic note is the one that makes the strongest impression upon the reader. We forget his few happy women, and only remember those who end their lives in unrelieved gloom. Little Abraham asked his sister Tess if the

stars were worlds. He was told that they were. “ ‘Most of them splendid and sound—a few blighted.’ ” The boy asked one more question : “ ‘Which do we live on—a splendid one or a blighted one?’ ” Tess replied : “ ‘A blighted one,’ ” and Abraham relected that “ ‘Tis very unlucky that we didn’t pitch on a sound one, when there were so many more of ‘em.’ ”

Perhaps it was unlucky, for the Omnipotent Being has certainly blighted Wessex, and the best of Hardy’s women are those who are most conscious of the blight, most aware of the inexorable struggle that in the end proves too strong for them.

F. HADLAND DAVIS.

## THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

### *The Political Economy of War.\**

Professor A. C. Pigou, the distinguished Cambridge Economist, has written a simpler book. We had prepared ourselves to listen to the subtleties of deep analysis tinged with philosophic doubts as a new book by Prof. Pigou was announced. That he has disarmed our sceptic prognostications and treated us to a discourse in simple language shows the justice of the clamouring demand of the layman to refuse to be treated as a complex of nicely-calculating reason and motive. *The Political Economy of War* is the concessionary tribute—possibly a sad confession in Prof. Pigou's mind—to the lowly and simple tastes of the common man who has no time to queer himself to the high degree of concentration which the great exponent of the classical doctrines of Economics has so far demanded from his readers. And yet possibly we are on the wrong track for behind the simplicities of easy-flowing and continuous narrative presented in this book there lies stored up all the powerful analysis of High Economics, and a cavilling mind, not satisfied with the restrained dietary, continues for his content the interplay of arguments which support or subvert the thesis which Prof. Pigou has propounded.

*The Political Economy of War* is an attempt to dissect 'the strained and stressed economy of world-shattering war'. The author by his antecedent reputation provoked us to pitch our mind to the tune of scepticism and if we feel compelled to enter a caveat against the terminological inexactitude of the title of the book he should thank his reputation and not blame the carping critic. The claim of Economics as a universal science does not admit of several shifting degrees of truths, just as the applied use during war time of certain principles of Mathematical Physics does not mean the evolution of a Mathematical Physics of War. Economic doctrines must stand or fall as their truth is upheld during the varying periods of stress and strain, of peace and plenty.

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\*A. C. Pigou : *The Political Economy of War*, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1921.

Prof. Pigou devotes the first chapters to a cursory treatment of two preliminary influences :—the shadow cast by the war and the economic causes that bring about this event. While the discourse is unexceptionable, the argument is not complete. A recognition of the recurring chances of war amidst the present world conditions insists upon the economist the wisdom of ‘the sacrifice of opulence to defence’—‘that a country should sacrifice something of opulence in normal times in order to protect itself against a shortage of food or other essential goods should war break out.’ Grant this and Political Economy becomes the stock-in-trade of groups of opposing nationals and its doctrines adjusted to recognise the pre-eminence of particular national interests as against international goodwill. One is, for instance, forced to recognise that a National System of Economy would justify the inclusion of such economic wastes as the upkeep costs of the military and naval forces and the huge establishment expenses of the armament firms as part of the National Dividend—‘that objective counterpart of economic welfare’. The exigent pressure of world instability has forced a partial acceptance of the self-contained ideal of Liszt’s economic State. Political Economy sowise becomes the plaything of secular and national jealousies and can no longer claim the undivided allegiance of humanity.

Another slip that Prof. Pigou has inadvertently made is an essay on the economics of Imperialism. He admits that trade discrimination in favour of a particular country is not compatible with international harmony and affirms that ‘an international agreement to do away with this kind of discrimination and to open the foreign possessions of European Powers to the traders of other countries on equal terms with the traders of the possessing Power would be a great step forward’. He further stresses the dangers of a national support to the desires of the financiers and concession-hunters in undeveloped countries and sustains his argument by the plain balancing of economic forces :—‘If they are backed by their national government, the profit they make, though a net profit to them, may easily be much more than outweighed by the extra expense in armaments that the policy of backing them forces upon the government and, through the government, on the tax-payers of the country.’ But there is a proviso and a qualification.

“It will, of course, be understood that a refusal on the part of government to back their nationals in the search for concessions does not imply leaving the private citizens of civilised countries to do what they choose in undeveloped parts of the world. *Europe owes to the natives of these places protection against exploitation* by European adventurers. This obligation is recognised in the theory of the mandates as embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations.”

Why this fetisch of ‘white man’s burden’ and an unnecessary solicitude for the ‘natives’? Why, again, this appeal for support to the already-exploded manadatory theory of the League of Nations—the most discredited and hypocritical programme of grab of an Assembly that has flouted all economic truths? One should have expected from an economist of Prof. Pigou’s eminence a caustic condemnation of the Versailles Treaty and its economic heresies. We can but deplore this departure from the rigid isolation of classical economy.

Prof. Pigou is very interesting in his discussion of personal economies during war time and exposes some of the current fallacies which confused the nature of real savings with drastic cuts of consumption of luxuries. When he comes to treat of ethics of war-control—commandeering, price-fixation, rationing, subsidies—he is on less sure grounds, but his attitude is essentially sound and his thesis explains in the light of economic fundaments the adjustment of controls as rightly based on the needs of the individual citizens subject to the objective demands of successful war operations.

In the chapters on war-finance, which occupy the bulk of the book, the author is austere analytical and devotes himself to illustrate the time-honoured doctrines with the happenings of war time. Taxes *vs.* Loans, Paper-Finance, Currency and Exchange provide him with enough data to emphasise the dangers of artificial regulation of the extremely delicate machinery of the Money Market. The chapter on “Finance by Bank Credits” is a brilliant defence of the theory that repudiates the complacent doctrine that ‘it is the real, not the fictitious, deposits that form the basis of credit circulation’ (Bastable). The operations of

Bank drafts may possess effective limits during normal periods of automatic adjustments, but when a government steps in and interferes with the working of the controls and becomes the chief culprit in creating these overdrafts with no thought towards redemption, the limits become useless and remain inoperative.

The concluding chapter is fittingly devoted to the solution of a contentious problem—the aftermath of internal debts—and forms a notable contribution by a reputed economist in favour of the discharge of the national debt by means of a single Capital Levy. Fully conscious of the difficulties of equity, of assessment and valuation of Capital, both material and immaterial, Prof. Pigou has arrived, nevertheless, at the considered judgment that 'in view of our enormous budget requirements and of the consequent necessity for kinds of taxation and rates of taxes that are seriously repressive to industry, a large special levy for the purpose of repaying internal national debt is desirable from the standpoint of national productivity.' This opinion is contested by practically all businessmen and some well-known economists, but we believe that Prof. Pigou's summing up is justified. If there is an obstacle, it is the obstacle of general acceptance and the impediment of difficulties of technique—a problem for the administrator rather than for the economist.

K. C. M.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

### Recent Legal Literature.

*Principles of Contract.* By Sir Frederick Pollock. Ninth Edition (Stevens and Sons, Limited, Chancery Lane, London), 1921.

*A Text-Book of Roman Law.* By W. W. Buckland. (University Press, Cambridge), 1921.

*The Students' Legal History.* By R. S. Deans, Fourth Edition (Stevens and Sons, Limited, Chancery Lane, London), 1921.

*A Selection of Leading Cases in the Criminal Law.* By Henry Warburton and Claude H. Grundy, Fifth Edition. (Stevens and Sons, Limited, Chancery Lane, London), 1921.

*The Present Law of Abuse of Legal Procedure.* By Percy Henry Winfield. (University Press, Cambridge), 1921.

*The Hammurabi Code.* By Chilperic Edwards. Third Edition (Watts and Co., Fleet Street, London), 1921.

*The Indian Practice.* By M. L. Agarwala. Third Edition (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad), 1921.

*Arbitration in India.* By M. L. Agarwala. (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad), 1921.

Sir Frederick Pollock's *Principles of Contract*—now in its ninth edition—has long since deservedly taken the place of a classic in English legal literature. It has had to contend against many worthy rivals and predecessors, but it has ousted them all from popular favour and may now be justly said to stand unrivalled as the soundest and most luminous exposition of the subject it deals with. The work under consideration has been completely revised and thoroughly overhauled, and the learned author states in the opening line to his preface that "considerable changes will be found in the present edition". These additions and alterations have enhanced materially the value of the book by making it up-to-date in the statement of the law and quite abreast of reported decisions. Taken as a whole, the ninth edition of the book will keep its position unchallenged as the best compendious sketch of the law of contract. It is an ideal text-book alike for the student, the practitioner and the Judge.

Mr. W. W. Buckland is well-known to students of the literature of Roman Law by his two earlier text-books—*Elementary Principles of Roman*

*Private Law* and *The Roman Law of Slavery*. These he has now followed with a more ambitious work called *A Text-Book of Roman Law*. The work under notice is a systematic and comprehensive sketch of the main rules of the Private Law as it obtained in the Roman Empire and it offers a lucid and accurate statement of the established and accepted doctrines of Roman Jurisprudence. Though based to a large extent on the labours of previous Scholars and Jurists Mr. Buckland's work presents to the reader a sketch of the subject which bears the palm for accuracy of statement and lucidity of exposition. We can not recommend a better book than Mr. Buckland's to a student of Roman Law.

Mr. R. Storry Dean's *Students' Legal History*—now in its fourth edition—is a well-known text-book and its success and popularity are amply evidenced by the number of editions of it called for since its first appearance some years back. Admittedly a compilation it is a handy manual and offers within a short compass a great deal of useful information on the subject it deals with, which is not generally accessible to the average student. Its value for the purposes of the student is increased by the summaries appended to each chapter. Its statements are accurate and the exposition interesting, and this compact sketch ought to find favour with students of English legal history. It deserves a large circulation.

The late Mr. Warburton's *Leading Cases in Criminal Law* (now ably edited by Mr. Claude Grundy) is one of the best-known treatises in English legal literature amongst works of its class and kind. Its utility and popularity are manifest by its now having reached the fifth edition. Mr. Grundy has carefully overhauled the work and made it fully up-to-date. He has added new leading cases, revised the notes, and considerably improved and enlarged the index. In its present form, the book is bound to enjoy even a larger circulation than in its previous editions, which it so well deserves.

We noticed last month in terms of appreciation Dr. Percy Winfield's *History of Conspiracy and Abuse of Legal Procedure* in the new legal series called "Cambridge Studies in English Legal History". We have now before us the learned author's supplementary treatise to his former work and it is called *The Present Law of Abuse and Legal Procedure*. While the earlier work was mainly historical, the one under notice deals with the law on the subject as it is enforced in English courts at the present day. Like the author's previous treatise, it is marked by accuracy and soundness and it will be found invaluable by students of the subject in this country

also, as the Indian Law of the abuse of legal procedure is based mainly on that which obtains in England.

*The Hammurabi Code* by Mr. Chilperic Edwards deserves careful attention at the hands of students of Jurisprudence as giving a statement of the oldest laws in the world—so far discovered. The famous inscription of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (2123—2180, B.C.) which was discovered and deciphered early in the present century, gives instructive glimpses of ancient Chaldean civilisation and shows the dependence of Mosaic legislation on that of Babylonia. Recently some missing sections have been recovered and it has been supplemented by a still older code. All these have been incorporated by Mr. Edwards in the new edition of his book, which should appeal to all interested in primitive law—its origin and development.

Dr. M. L. Agarwala is one of the most indefatigable commentators on Anglo-Indian Law and his various commentaries and annotated text-books are widely known and appreciated. Perhaps his *magnum opus* is the *Indian Practice*, which is a compendium of civil procedure and practice and which has now reached a third edition. It has been evidently found useful and the new edition is likely to hold its own against its many rivals by reason of the lucidity which characterizes the annotations. Its only defect is that it is too bulky.

The latest addition to Dr. M. L. Agarwala's series of legal publications is *Arbitration in British India*. It brings together in a handy form thoroughly annotated texts of the Indian Arbitration Act of 1899 and the second schedule of the Code of Civil Procedure of 1908, which (between them) contain about all the statutory provision on the subject in Anglo-Indian legal literature. The book, we feel sure, will be found highly useful both for study and reference alike by the student and the Judge or practising lawyer.

#### **Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature.**

We congratulate the Patna University on their having published Professor Jadunath Sarkar's lectures (delivered under the auspices of that seat of learning) under the title of *The Mughal Administration*. This book—so far as we are aware is pioneer on the subject, but it will stand the scrutiny, even if it be judged from a severely critical standpoint. It is both learned and luminous and materially supplements the well-known text-books

on Indo-Mughal civilisation. By reason of the freshness of its material it richly merits a very wide circulation.

Having exhausted in his *Famous Morganatic Marriages* interest in the domestic adventures of Royalty, he has now turned to *Royal Romances and Tragedies* (Stanley Paul & Co., 31 Essex Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2). In his new and very interesting volume the author describes most realistically the varied adventures and misdemeanours of royalty ; they range from the remarkable exploits of that famous matchmaker—Queen Sophie of Sweden—to the distinctly indiscreet adventures of the ex-King Milan in Paris and Vienna, these latter culminating in the payment of a large sum of money to a certain French Actress. We are surrounded as we read this book by a continual atmosphere of intrigue and adventure, and as we lay it aside we can only murmur once again, "Truth is stranger than fiction."

The growth of the Post Office in India from humble beginnings in 1854 to the vast organization of the present day presents a romantic story which has few parallels in the records of commerce or the Public Services. A bright and popular history of the origin and progress of this great institution and the part it played in connection with Imperial policy in Persia and Mesopotamia, has been written by Mr. Geoffrey Clarke, I.C.S., under the title *The Post Office of India and its Story*. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London). The book has 16 important illustrations, and an appendix on Indian postage stamps with reproductions of the various issues which should prove invaluable to philatelists.

Mr. D. N. Neogi's *Anecdotes of Indian Life* and Mr. Dakshina Charan Roy's *Vishnu Sarma's Fables* (S. K. Lahiri & Co., College Street, Calcutta) supplement each other and both constitute valuable additions to healthy literature in English for Indian boys. Mr. Neogi, following up the tradition of his *True Tales of Indian Life* records in his new book instances of golden deeds done by Indians, and it is an excellent continuation in spirit of his previous work. Mr. Roy's stories are adapted from the Sanskrit of the *Panchatantra* and make delightful reading for boys.

*The New Horizon of Love and Life* (A. & C. Black, Ltd., Soho Square, London, W. 1.) gives its author, Mrs. Havelock Ellis just the occasion of which her brilliant talent can best avail itself. Questions of marriage and divorce, of sex-variation, of love in the past and in the future, all come up for subtle consideration. The items of our common knowledge are regrouped. We are moved, we are arrested, we feel the curious quality of an outlook which makes the difficult and winding path to a new horizon so

plain to be followed. Whether we do or do not agree with her views Mrs. Ellis' book deserves, all the same, a very careful consideration.

Though there are several learned works in English on Indian music—notably Mr. Fox Strangway's—a popular sketch of the subject was decidedly a desideratum. It is now removed by the publication of Mr. H. A. Popley's *Music of India* in the "Heritage of India" series (Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta). Admittedly, in the main, a compilation, Mr. Popley's book would be found equally interesting and instructive by that every large class of students who wanted an untechnical but sound exposition of the subject. We commend Mr. Popley's book to all interested in our music.

We noticed some months back, in terms of appreciation, the history of Hindi literature in the "Heritage of India" series. We welcome yet one more work on the subject—Mr. Edwin Greaves' *Sketch of Hindi Literature* (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras). Mr. Greaves has deservedly enjoyed for many years the reputation of being one of the greatest scholars of Hindi and his little book bears throughout the hall-mark of a rich and rare scholarship and a critical acumen of high order. Mr. Greaves' book is more selective than the former work but it is one which no student of the subject can afford to neglect or do without.

Mr. J. C. Percy's *More Bulls and Blunders* (Mecredy, Percy & Co., 516 Bank Chambers, Holborn, London, W. C.) is brimful of wit and humour. It has capital stories of fun and frolic, smart sayings and repartees, jokes galore, and a thousand and one delightful things. It should be made a compulsory text-book for the Indian youth who is generally hopelessly deficient in possessing a sense of humour.

To the well-known "Self-Taught" series (E. Marlborough & Co., 51 Old Bailey, London, E. C. 4.) Professor N. M. Dhruba has recently contributed *Gujrati Self-Taught*. The principle on which the volumes in this series are written is that of phonetic pronunciation (Thimm's system) and is well adapted to the purpose of enabling one to acquire a working knowledge of a foreign language. Tamil, Hindustani and Gujrati are the Indian languages so far dealt with on this system in the series.

Amongst the new additions to the "World of To-day" series published by the Oxford University Press is *The Treaty Settlement of Europe* by Mr. H. J. Fleure. As the sub-title states, this little book deals principally with some of the geographic and ethnographic aspects of the Versailles Peace. Mr. Fleure is a noted Geographist and he has attempted to confine

his survey to the changes made in the geography, with the consequent possible economic effect, of the various European States. But he is not a mere interpreter of boundaries and frontiers for he has kept his eyes wide open and does not hesitate to criticise the despairingly hopeless framework of Peace which flouts the purpose it is supposed to subserve. Particular emphasis is laid on the fascinating obsession of the idea of the sovereignty of nation-state, and Mr. Fleure finds ample illustrations to prove the thesis that the motives governing the minds of the Peace Makers do not draw their inspiration from a genuine desire to promote international harmony and good-will. That seed has been sown for future conflicts, there can hardly be any doubt ; that use has been made of linguistic and ethnographic characteristics, wherever they seemed to serve, to cut across economic entities merely to humiliate and despoil the vanquished, becomes increasingly clear as we read Mr. Fleure's text. We commend the book to students of international politics.

To lovers of mountains and open air *Pindari Glacier—A Sketch Book and Guide* by C. W. Anderson (Thacker Spink & Co., 1921) will bring a fresh delight. There are innumerable little spots of wonder and beauty lying hid in the bosom of nature which an observant tourist occasionally reveals. Jealous of the prying eyes of sceptic toilers and fastidious of company such beauty corners frequently succeed in preserving their splendid *hateur* and isolation because of the un-seeing eyes of many of their zealous visitors. Mr. Anderson is not of this group. He loves Nature in its pristine glory and in the mood of the true lover hearkens all to share in the joyous feast that a trip to Pindari spreads out before one's eyes. Pindari Glacier—a matter of 80 miles or so from Almora, a close neighbour of Naini Tal—is not reached by easy stages, but the troubles are well repaid, for we are told by the author that "the reward is great indeed ! Facing him are the two Pindari *nevees* and the peaks from which they flow; immediately below the *nevees* the upper cascade—a wide wall of snow and ice—at 15,000 ft. and to his left, huge green walls of ice split by crevices." Mr. Anderson has not omitted to mention the practical difficulties of the tourist and his book is a real contribution to the sort of guide books one would like to consult before deciding on a trip. Excellently printed and interspersed with sketches from the author's pencil it should find a ready place on the tourists' shelf and once there, we are sure, Pindari Glacier will figure prominently in the New Year's resolutions for a holiday.

Mr. Rangildas M. Kapadia has rendered a public service in reprinting

in a handy form L. Lajpat Rai's "*Message of Geeta*" (Bhandare & Co., Bombay). Lajpat Rai selected this memorable essay for an interpretation of his supreme faith and convictions at the time of his State Deportation in 1907. In those already far-off troublous days people were apt to forget and ignore the fundaments of the struggle which a handful of stalwart 'rebels' were carrying on in the sublime consciousness of duty. To-day—times far more troublous—no emphasis can be overdone on the principles regulating individual duty and action, and we specially welcome this call of the Eternal Message from the pen of one who never shirked his duty in the light of his convictions and is fittingly again suffering the penalty of truth.

## PARODY—A SKETCH AND AN ILLUSTRATION.

Parody is essentially laughter—honest, fullmouthed laughter that gives a tug in the ribs and draws the malicious humour out of you. The merit and work of a skit, a burlesque or an imitation lies in an explosion, not shamfaced, for vulgarity is not of its part; neither brazen nor bizarre but a good, healthy shaking of the sides providing diversion amidst the seriousness of the poetic appeal. We read that “in the sphere of letters parody is the quizzical art, the art of the man with the eyeglass, quick to seize the mannerisms of his betters and to raise a laugh by a piece of outrageous fooling or by a whiff of gentle malice.” Is it really? Ridicule your betters by catching at their little tricks of manner and method: pour forth your venom of envy when you can not afford to appear more inglorious and adjust your monocle with an air of tomfoolery—and you are a parodist! I wish these academicians would leave the simple folk without such helps. They know how to laugh and what to laugh at without airing their knowledge of officious nonsense that analyses their laughter. Ridicule has its own value in the scheme of life and a country grocer knows as well how to apply it to his trade as a literary catechist could ever hope to impart to him. Q. places parody amid great poetry: he makes it a playmate of Gods. The learned Cambridge Professor possesses the inestimable gift of poetic laughter and rightly says that the parodist “must be friends with the Gods, and worthy of their company before taking these pleasant liberties with them.” Laughter is a divine thing and human heart never more resembles the purpose of the Creator than when it is provoked into genuine pleasures.

But maudlin and disjointed vulgarisations are not the less common. To create a storehouse of perennial fun is a meticulous task extraordinarily difficult and once succeeded deserves human gratitude. Who would not treasure Hilton’s *Octopus*—that supreme instance of parody and laughter and criticism? “*Dolores*” was a beautiful type of Swinburne’s early art, full of rich sensuousness which only a complete master could parody.

This is from *Dolores* :—

“O lips full of lust and of laughter,  
 Curled snakes that are fed from my breast,  
 Bite hard lest remembrance come after  
 And press with new lips where you pressed.  
 For my heart too springs up at the pressure,  
 Mine eyelids too moisten and burn ;  
 Ah, feed me and fill me with pleasure,  
 Ere pain come in turn”

And the concluding stanza of Hilton’s parody of it (*Octopus*) runs :—

Ah ! thy red lips, lascivious and luscious,  
 With death in their amorous kiss !  
 Cling round us, and clasp us, and crush us,  
 With bitings of agonised bliss :  
 We are sick with the poison of pleasure,  
 Dispense us with the potion of pain :  
 Ope thy mouth to its uttermost measure  
 And bite us again !

What genuine criticism of Swinburne’s art and how provocative of laughter ! We do not find any traces of the “monocle” art, nor do we wait to test it by the measures of our literary pundits. We will stamp on them and their race if they preach us about Aristophanian parody of Euripides or the Quixotic parade of the debased grand style of mediaeval romance. We have no wit not desire to go to the origins of Parody to take our standards of judgment. We have known the poetry of Swinburne ; we recognise *Octopus* as a grand style in imitation and perceive the essentially healthy critical virtue in it. It delights us and there is the end of it. Parody gives no instruction nor receives any.

The art of turning a word and drawing out laughter from a solemn phrase is a gift not less serviceable to Man in search of pleasure. It is more universal than the art of parody and commonplace talk derives sustenance and life from little tricks of the kind. When Pope’s

“Here shall the spring her earliest sweets bestow  
 Here the first roses of the year shall blow”

are made to read

“Here shall the spring her earliest *coughs* bestow

Here the first noses of the year shall blow”

you can hardly restrain a laugh. Nor can you when you read Calverley’s ode to “that mild, luxurious, and artful beverage—Beer” in imitation of Lord Byron’s style :—

“O Beer ! O Hodgson, Guinness, Allsopp, Bass !

Names that should be on every infants’ tongue !

Shall days and months and years and centuries pass,

And still your merits be unrecked, unsung ?

Oh ! I have gazed into my foaming glass,

And wished that lyre could yet again be strung

Which once rang prophet-like through Greece, and taught her

Misguided sons that the best drink was water”

And how apt with your own secret thoughts (God bless the mark !) are the lines :—

“.....The heart which Grief hath canker’d

Hath one unfailing remedy—the Tankard”

I confess great admiration for another great piece, Shelley’s *Peter Bell, the Third*. It is an uncharitable and cruel attack on Wordsworth and some refuse to class it as parody. Yet *Peter Bell, the Third* is an essentially sound criticism and an extra good imitation of Wordsworth’s style. The latter excites our smile but the laugh is smothered in pity evoked by criticism of the poet’s admittedly weak points. And even Mrs. Shelley felt constrained to note that the “poem was purely ideal ;—it contains something of criticism on the compositions of those great poets (*i.e.*, Wordsworth and Coleridge), but nothing injurious to the men themselves.”

Who would say that the concluding stanza of Shelley’s poem

“Seven miles above— below—around—

This pest of dullness holds its sway ;

A ghastly life without a sound.

To Peter’s soul the spell is bound—,

How shall it ever pass away ?”

does not contain a true indictment of parts of Wordsworth such as are exhibited in his longer poems like “*The Excursion*” and “*The Prelude*”? And you laugh out boisterously as Shelley

leads you on to this pest of dullness "creeping like cold through all things near", infesting Peter's maids, dogs, kitten, down to lakes and woods and their playful inhabitants. The attack is to an extent uncharitable but nowhere to compare with Byron's bald abuse—

"And now I've seen so great a fool  
As William Wordsworth is for once,  
I really wish that Peter Bell  
And he who wrote it, were in hell  
For writing nonsense for the nonce."

so would you wish a literary critic in the same place who does not consider Shelley's *Peter Bell, the Third* a great Parody.

\* \* \* \* \*

### POLITICAL ALARM BELL.

*By the Editor of "E-gl-n" (nee Morning Post)*  
*(Adapted from James Smith : Rejected*  
*Address 1809.)*  
Bounce, Jupiter, bounce!—O'Hara

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

As it is now the universally-admitted and indeed pretty-generally-suspected aim of Mr. Montagu and the infamous, bloodthirsty, and in fact illiberal faction to which he belongs, to burn to the ground this free and happy kingdom of the Empire of India, and establish himself *spirituoso excelsis* in the Moghul Gaddi, his fellow bearers-of-the-white-burden have thought it their duty to watch the principles of the political theatre now definitely committed to be built under his auspices, despite the warnings, protestations, threats-of-resignations-from-the-celestial-service *en masse* and other red-danger-flares blazoned by them during the bidding. The information they have received from an undoubted authority—particularly from an old hawker from Jallianwala Bagh who has turned King's evidence, and whose name, for obvious reasons, we forbear to mention, though we have had it some weeks in our possession, has induced them to introduce various reforms—not such reforms as the vile faction clamour for

meaning thereby revolution, but such reforms as are necessary to preserve the glorious constitution of the only free, happy and prosperous country now left upon the face of the earth, to wit India. From the valuable and authentic source above alluded to, we have learnt that a sanguinary plot has been formed by some united Satyagrahis combined with a gang of Bolsheviks and a special committee sent over by the Lovers of Liberty Council at the instigation of the beastly Ghadr fiend for destroying all the loyal part of the audience on the anniversary of that deeply-to-be-abhorred and highly-to-be-blamed stratagem, the Hartal in memoriam which falls this year on the 13th of April. The whole is under the direction of a delegated committee of the N. C. O.'s (the Non-co-operators of the Congress who have a common platform with Bolshevik murderers and Pan Islamic firebrands) whose treasonable exploits at the Hunter Whitewash and the Rowlatt incarnations you all recollect, and all of whom would have been hung from the chandeliers at that time but for the mistaken lenity of the Government. At a given signal, a well known N. C. O. was to cry out from the Himalayan hill-top, Mount Everest, to wit, "Nosey! Liberty!" whereupon all the N. C. O.'s were to produce from their inside pocket a long pair of shears, edged with felt to prevent their making any noise, manufactured expressly by a wretch at Timbuctoo, one of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidences and now in custody pending summary execution. With these they were to cut off the heads of the loyal Moderates, Jo-hukums, Tommy Dods and the rest without distinction of sex, age, race or creed. At the signal, similarly given of "Throw'em over!" which it now appears always alluded to the overthrow of our never-sufficiently-enough-to-be-deeply-and-universally-to-be-venerated constitution, all the heads of the L. M. T.'s (Loyal Moderate Tommy Dods) were to be thrown at the gaping jaws of a more modernised version of Dyerian gulper, to prevent their appearing in evidence or perhaps as a false and illiberal insinuation that they have no heads of their own. All that we know of the further designs of these incendiaries is that they are by-a-great-deal-too-much too-horrible-to-be-mentioned.

The Chief Manager of the political arena in the person of the

never-enough-to-be-praised Martial Law Dictator has acted with usual promptitude on this trying occasion. He has contracted for a million tons of gunpowder which are at this moment placed in barrels of 500 tons apiece under all the open spaces and parks of the country. No proclamation is necessary for warning the M. L. T.'s against assembling on these places, and the more N. C. O.'s gather, the merrier. For camp-followers of General Dyer assisted by Cols. Thompsons and Johnsons have undertaken to blow up the pits of oratory in mourning on the day of the plot in so novel and ingenious a manner that every N. C. O. shall be annihilated, while not a whisker of the L. M. T.'s shall be singed. Several other hints have been taken from the admirable regulations of the not-a-bit-the-less-on-that-account-to-be-universally-execrated monster Prussian Militarism. A park of artillery with huge Berthas in reserve, provided with not-to-be-exhausted-this-time-as-at-Jallianwala chain shot is to be stationed at all the exits of the Baghs and spaces and play upon the audience more intensely in case of any indication of misplaced flight. The public will participate our satisfaction in learning that the indecorous custom of meeting the soldiers with the hat on is to be abolished, as the military officers are provided with daggers, and have orders to stab all such persons to the heart and leave the bodies to rot on the spot, to serve an example to others. The aristocratic privilege now vulgarly indulged of walking humanely on two legs is to be henceforth severely restricted and common men taught the beneficence of crawling on all fours in close affinity with the beastly nature of their lineal ancestral stock. No other means of conveyance will be allowed either to the pedlar of goods or to immaturities at the shrine of learning—the latter will from a proclaimed date onward, walk on all-fours sixteen miles a day and back to keep them fit. Gentlemen, who cough in public are only to be slightly wounded. Fruitwomen bawling "Gandhi ki jai" are to be forthwith shot, for which purpose soldiers will be stationed in the slips and ball cartridge is to be served out with iced lemonade in hot weather. If any person is in the vicious habit of indulging in forensic practice and who is so tall in his profession as to prevent the vision of the all-superior from prevailing, he is to be dragged out and sent on

board the tender for Andamans, or by an instrument taken out of the pocket of Procrustes, to be forthwith cut shorter, either at the head or tongue, according as his own convenience may dictate. They have further ordained that biplanes will hover over the dense parts of the country and afford exhilarating delights to the towards-the-heaven-gazers by their looping-the-loop and spiral nose-drive tricks. The operators of the machines have been provided with specially constructed bombs which will be released with an automatic in-the-shell-torpedo-mechanism so that they will perfectly fit into the gaping mouths of the neck-strainers down below and serve them right for their treasons.

Thus, Ladies and Gentlemen, have the committee through my medium set forth the not-in-a-hurry-to-be-paralleled plan they have adopted for preserving order and decorum within the walls of their magnificent empire. Nor have they, while attentive to their own concerns, by any means overlooked those of the cities of Cairo and Dublin. Finding on enumeration that they have with a with-two-hands-and-one-tongue-to-be-applauded liberality, contracted for more gunpowder than they want, they have parted with the surplus to the carpet-carrying sheriff of Cairo who has with his own shovel dug a large hole in front of the Sphynx that upon the least symptom of ill breeding in the mob the whole of the desert may be blown in the air. To the sister commune of Erin they have been prodigiously liberal and exported their own well experienced Heaven-borns to devise and plan the extinctions of the Easter herd whose anniversary separates only by a week from the Jallianwalla heroics. This, Ladies and Gentlemen, may at first make our shield tarnished but the heroic tales and courageous-savings-of-the-Empire from mutiny will blazon forth to the world the undimmed lustre and prestige which always attaches to my counsels; and the world will be continued to be supplied as usual with the glorious stewed-in-the-massacre liberty and tradition. I should expatiate more largely on the other advantages of the glorious constitution of these by-the-whole-of-world-envied realms, but I am called away to take an account of the ladies and other artificial flowers at the fashionable rout on Viceroy's Cup Day of which a full and parti-

cular account will hereafter appear. For the present my fashionable intelligence is scanty, on account of the close of the Belvedere season; and the ladies and gentlemen who honour me with their attention will not be surprised if they find nothing under my usual head !!!

\* \* \*

### THE FABLE OF THE TWENTY OLD MEN.

Twenty old men will sit around a table,

To say if madness end !

Twenty old men will say if Man is able

To call his brother friend !

What shall we have, the vulture or the dove ?

What shall we have, undying hate or love ?

What shall we have, the blessing of the breath,  
Or the stench and the silences of death ?

Twenty old men will sit around a table,

To say if Hate is lord !

Twenty old men will say if Man is able

To lay aside the sword !

The old men plot, and the young men die.

The old men talk, and the hearts of women cry.

So is it evermore, age against youth,

Greed against giving, and lies against truth !

Twenty old men will sit around a table,

To say if war shall cease !

Twenty old men will say if Man is able

To live and love in peace !

What shall we have, the mother and her son

Or the crape on the door when the plotting is done ?

Lest sorrow and torment and murder be again,

Let in the light on those twenty old men !

GEORGE STERLING.

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## FROM THE DESK.

### WE THREE.

We are born of the head, we are never dead,  
Can you divine us three?  
Long before man was born or bred  
We have been together free.

We are born of the heart, none can us part,  
We are the inseparable three,  
Makers of all form, authors of all art,  
We never part company.

Not of air nor of earth had we our birth,  
We are the inseparable three ;  
Now plunged in sorrow, floating then in mirth,  
Alike in grief or in glee.

We love and hate, think and act, never tired o'that,  
Being the eternal three ;  
Men grope in the dark, not knowing us what—  
To be solved by posterity !

Shapeless and colourless, lifeless yet endless,  
We are the elusive three ;  
Soul, Will and Mind, we are all of one kind,  
The evasive, elusive three.

More elusive than these, more evasive than all,  
 Are other mysterious three,  
 My Muse, my God, the Love that doth me enthrall—  
 I am ever after them three.

N. R.

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*     \*

**Ethics of Repression.**

Sir Henry Wheeler in reply to a question in the Bengal Legislative Council vouchsafed the information that in Calcutta the number of political arrests between the period 17th November, 1921 and end of January, 1922, amounted to over 5,000 !

There was no visible shudder in the Council as this announcement was made. The money asked for this extra surveillance by the Police and the Civil Guards was duly voted for and granted. The formula in other provinces has not been dis-similar. We wonder how many of the 'popular' members of the various legislatures gave more than a fleeting thought to the consideration of the larger question—the ultimate value of such wholesale arrests and the moral justification behind them.

No one will dispute the right of the State to enforce conditions which ensure the best preservation of individual rights and duties. It is the primary function of constituted authority to remove obstacles and hinderances 'that lie before human capacity as it seeks to do things worth doing'. Assume that the Non-co-operators were such obstacles to the free exercise of individual liberty of action and movement. Assume also that their continued freedom would be likely to endanger the atmosphere needed for such exercise. Grant all this for the sake of argument and still the justification of restraint put upon a large body of persons demands some other proof besides the *ex parte* assertions and premises from the officials responsible for the launching forth of the programme of repression. The incarceration of a member of the State as punishment for breach of some legal enactment involves a dual consideration and the argument applies with greater strength where a goodly number of citizens are shut off for the same offence. In its negative aspect punishment prevents the criminal from continuing in his

course of alleged wrong-doing—a course that is supposed to endanger the capacity of the rest of the members for 'well-doing'. The positive aspect is more important because more vital in its ultimate effect. Punishment is supposed to be not merely deterrent, it is also reformative and if the latter object remains unachieved it is questionable how far punishment can be *ethically* justified. T. H. Green, the eminent British philosopher, has said in so many words that "punishment cannot in any full sense attain its own proper purpose which is the re-assertion of the validity of rights, unless it produces some consciousness of that validity in the offender; and that consciousness to be effective must be due not to the mere feeling that there is external force behind the rights, but to the further feeling that there is some higher and more internal sanction." Judged from this stand-point the imprisonment of thousands of Non-co-operators seems futile besides being ethically *ultra vires*. The person who deliberately courts arrests because, rightly or wrongly, he questions the right of the State to impose an unjust restriction on his freedom of speech and of association, is surely beyond such 'change of hearts' as is contemplated by the positive aspect of State action in shutting him up. The reformative aim disappears altogether and it becomes relevant to enquire if by the mere removal of stubborn wills the State profits anywise to the extent she injures her sacerdotal *prestige* by thus creating an army of cheap martyrs who carry in their conviction a strong appeal to the rest of the Society for faith in the righteousness of their uncompromising attitude.

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Professing to know little to nothing about what physicists call the theory of "space and time", we felt along with hosts of other laymen a great deal of surprised ignorance when Einstein first engaged the attention of the Press all over the world. We confess we devoted long anxious nights in attempting to lighten our ignorance but to no purpose. But perhaps the experience of others is different. We are confident however that the following communication from Mr. A. Worsley, an old and valued contributor to this Review, will be read with great interest :—

\* \* \* \* \*

The interest which Prof. Einstein's theory of Relativity has awakened among Mathematicians and Astronomers is reflected among Logicians and Philosophers generally, who, when they read the arguments of the Professor and of his critics, want to know with what kind of category they are dealing.

Among moderns, Riehl is careful in speaking of "ideas of Space and of Time", but most writers use these words as though no doubt could exist as to what the two names might imply. When we follow their arguments we find that they depend for their validity upon some arbitrary, or even variable, meaning. Beyond this, some disputants have placed facts-in-experience noted by some observers alongside the notions of others and have treated the whole class as though each particular possessed the degree of certitude.

If we admit that Time is a deduction from experience of growth or change, of Cause and Effect, and that the notion of space "is built up out of our observations on the relative positions of, and intervals between, objects present at the same moment," then, inasmuch as no two individuals can have had the same experiences, no two individuals can have constructed precisely the same notion of Space and of Time. Such indiosyncratic notions cannot all be valid, if any of them are so, and mathematicians have shown us how imperfectly we have construed the signs given to us in experience, and to what extent we should rectify our notions of Space and Time. But if we abandon popular notions, and cling only to those of Prof. Einstein and Prof. Case, we cannot rid ourselves of the fear that these are still only notions, and may have no real counterpart in the world of objectivity. Nor does it appear that this doubt can be removed from mind; for, whether we hold that Space or Time is substance, thing, force, or cause, or however we may name either of them, there is no other thing, etc., which can be placed in the same class with either of them. Hence the necessary comparative is wanting, and the object of knowledge cannot be reached. All the "knowledge" which we can obtain is by inference from matters totally dissimilar to either one or the other. Hence we have only notions of Space and of Time. Nor are scientific observations of what happens in "Space" necessarily confirmatory of such

notions, or of any of them. Let us note that it is the objects and forces, whose interactions are noted by astronomers, which are treated as real "things", and that our notions of Space and Time are altered to suit these happenings. But the retention of *some* notion of Space and of Time is essential for the support of these relations in Space.

By such means we can never secure positive confirmation of the validity of any particular notion of Space or of Time, but we may declare that the nature of Space and Time cannot be as some have thought, because, if so, certain happenings would have been impossible. In this way some negative knowledge has been obtained.

Prof. Case cites the views of Aristotle, but, if it is admissible to refer to the world of antiquity, the views of certain Hindus are also interesting. For instance, Nagarjuna says\*—"Someone will ask me—Why do you maintain that there is no such real thing as space?" He proceeds to show how the notion of space is constructed out of our experiences of utterly dissimilar things. "Far, near, that and this, are the marks of space. Without space there is no that and this. *That* and *This* are the marks of space; they are not space itself."

Prof. Ui, of Tokyo, in commenting upon the text of the *Prasastapada-Bhasya*, page 58, and of the *Sapta-padarthi*, page 17, says†—"Time and Space are designated from the effects. Consequently time and space in the modern sense are in reality one."

Certainly our notions of Space and of Time are liable to reconstruction, and the new structure may be modern throughout, or may be built upon a very old foundation, but the necessity for classifying our data by their relative evidential value remains.

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#### The Beatitude of Incompetence.

There is the old tale of the Court Warden who whipped the irascible priest to death under pretence of defying the holy wrath and was canonised later as the Saint of Incompetence. We

\* *Vaisesika-Sutra*, etc., 2.2.10 and 11.

† *Vaisesika-Philosophy*, page 137, H. Ui., London, 1917.

consider the warden to be a very clever servant of the Court and fully deserving of meritorious recognition. That he was apotheosised as the saint of incompetence is an ironic tribute to the fickle ignorance and facile gullibility of the human mind.

The cult of Incompetence is being broadly preached in India to-day. The rulers, in the eyes of the majority of the people, have forfeited allegiance because of their incompetence which is alleged to be directly responsible for economic starvation and political servility. It is urged that the Court mandarins have not played up to the generous directions of the Parliament and in the prestige of arrogance have defied all canons of justice and morality. The government is satanic; the governors are instruments of a vicious hierarchy of hide-bound tradition; petty tyranny and contraband decisions abound wholesale all over the land. Poverty has reduced the tillers of the soil into economic shadows of their former selves—thanks to the grievous impositions on the poor. Poverty has gripped the soul of India into its unholy meshes and her intellect has come to be prostituted for the sake of mere existence. A scheme of things that works so ingloriously deserves to be thrown overboard and we should be quick about it.

The other side of the shield is equally uncompromising in its attitude. 'You are clamouring for Swaraj, for self-government. Where are the men capable of oiling the machinery when we go away? Have you the skilled mechanics efficient in doing running repair works of your political shop? Possess you the designer and the architect to evolve ever new methods of control and direction as every emergency threatens a crisis? You do not boast of any decent means of defence; you have not the wherewithals to maintain order and preserve security. There is ignorance and illiteracy running vapid all over the land. Who would understand a vote or discriminate wisely between a duty and a right? Superstitions bind you in a helpless maze; fanaticism provides the only lamp of cheer to your soul. As we are in for it we have got to take you out of this un-civilised labyrinth and set you on the straight road. The price you must pay and there should be no bickering. We recognise the fruits of our own growth—witness our spontaneous and generous offer

to take advice of your best men in the Councils and the Legislatures. But you are impetuous and in your impatience you characterise our good acts as infamy and brand our intentions satanic—but there speaks the barbarian that is still in you and provides enough ground and justification for your continued need of us and of our civilising laws.'

Would we had the prescience to judge between the two 'incompetents'. For we wish to avoid the nemesis that will assuredly overtake a halting unpreparedness. It is the verdict of history that is wanted—and a knowledge of human nature. History that mocks at the imperialist stunt of the white-man's burden of civilising the barbarian scoffs at the pious resolutions of the weaker humanity unbacked by action. We cannot be sure, however that both the groups do not deserve well of their constituents for duties well done and faithfully executed until the maelstrom bursts and decides the issue one way or the other.

\* \* \* \* \*

WHIP.

## PARTY GOVERNMENT IN MADRAS.

Mr. Montagu, Mr. Curtis and other authors of the present constitution anticipated that under the Reforms regime party Government, one of the essential concomitants of responsibility of the Executive, would grow up; that there would be an Opposition for keeping the Government up to scratch by its criticism; and that a balanced administration would result with the possibility of an alternative Government and alternative policies looming in the background. They could not, any more than others possessing a more intimate knowledge of India, foresee that most of the elections would be fought on personal grounds and that the electorate as a party-forming influence would not begin to function in the very infancy of its existence. In so far as parties have been formed they have been formed in the Chambers and not in the country. Lobbying is in vigorous operation but not 'whipping' as is practised in the West. Party headquarters, conferences of the party leaders, party club and the other methods by which this political organism is maintained are yet to be developed. The process of crystallisation would have been accelerated if the Gandhians had entered the Councils in large numbers; but they chose to keep out, partly, I have no doubt, because of their well-founded apprehension that they would not secure a majority. Our legislatures are therefore still in an amorphous condition. Governors have chosen their ministers singly and according to their own pleasure. The formation of a ministry was not entrusted to a single leader called in to form his Government. Collective responsibility of the ministry is impossible under the circumstances; it is doubtful if even their individual responsibility is a practicable proposition. In the Bengal Chamber ministers' proposals and appeals have often fallen flat, but they have not resigned in consequence. There is not a chamber in which ministers have not on important occasions failed to vote as a body or give a united lead. No ministry possesses the unity associated with the Cabinets in England. The very manner of their appointment

to office militates against such a culmination. So far as effective responsibility of the ministry is concerned, the new regime has yet to demonstrate its success.

It is often said that Madras is an exception and has evolved a true system of Party Government. In Madras there certainly is a party—The Non-Brahmin party; but as the Brahmins have not organised themselves into a counter party, one of the conditions for the successful working of the Party system is not forthcoming. The disinclination of the Brahmins to constitute themselves into a party is not due solely to their hopeless numerical inferiority. They are only 3 per cent of the population and it is hardly sport in spite of all their influence to expect them to fight 97 per cent of the population. Further the very rapid growth of the Non-Brahmin Party is a proof how deep and widespread has been the dislike of the priestly classes felt by the masses though until Dr. Nair gave it shape and organisation, it remained inarticulate. Brahminical influence has always been an object of whispered hatred and contempt; to-day that feeling is roared out in public in defiant glee. South India in this respect is following the precedent of civilised humanity in the process of freeing itself from ecclesiastical bondage and influence. But the Brahmin, supporter of caste as he is, very rightly rejects birth as a principle of political party. Party necessarily implies the missionary zeal to convert others to its own way of thinking and voting. Birth cannot be converted; it is the negation of the party principle; and he therefore prefers defeat to the acceptance of a principle which cuts at the very root of democracy and renders propaganda meaningless. But unless he extends the same democratic zeal to social reconstruction and helps to undo the evil he has wrought in the past, he would become politically extinct, which many believe is a prelude to his social extinction.

All the Non-Brahmins elected do not belong to the "*Justice*" party—the weapon of militant non-brahminism in politics. In fact it is doubtful if on a strict computation they came in with a majority. But they formed the largest blocks in an amorphous chamber. Further even the Non-Brahmins more nationalistically inclined were in general sympathy with the object of

retaining secular power in Non-Brahmin hands—so deeply had the past of Brahminism cut into their feelings. Lord Willingdon therefore acted wisely in sending for Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, the honoured leader of the *Justice* party, and seeking his advice in the formation of the ministry. Further this party was the only power that could fight Gandhism in all its varying modes and forms with a good chance, amounting to certainty, of success. The Moderates were intellectually the best in the land ; they had a longer training in public life and had profited in every way by their previous monopoly of office and Governmental favour. For that, amongst other reasons, their heart was suspect ; as a fighting force they suffered from one defect, they were all leaders without followers ; they did not have the power of rousing the masses possessed by the Gandhians or the "*Justice*" leaders. If Lord Willingdon, who, in these distracted times, naturally cast about for a steady influence, had looked to them for help, he would have blundered as badly as Mr. Montagu.

Though thus in a way party was recognised as an instrument of Government, the appointment and responsibility of ministers did not take a collective form. Apart even from that, circumstances unavoidable in these early stages of constitutionalism have brought about the failure of the party system in Madras also.

One of the essential principles of Party as practised in England, the classic land of public life, is that for the policies and measures included in the party programme, the help of the opposition should not be sought. Such a course is hardly cricket and incidentally not politics either. If the opposition members are so generous or so foolish as to accept places freely on Government committees, they so far abdicate their function as an opposition. If the critic is invited to help in the writing of the book, much cannot be said in praise of the courage or selfconfidence of the author. Legislation by general consensus or composite committees cannot contribute to the healthy growth of the party system. And yet, even in the Presidency in which party is to a certain extent a stable and reliable factor, it is this very procedure, so contrary to the traditions of public life, that is adopted. If the next election is to be fought, as all next elec-

tions are fought, on the record of Government for constructive and of the opposition for critical work, there won't be any record to fight on or about. The reasons advanced for these invertebrate modes of legislative operation are firstly that it would be ungenerous to exclude the Brahmins from all share in legislation. An admirable sentiment which however, in so far as it is valid, ought to have prevailed before the famous ukase "Never vote for a Brahmin; never trust a Brahmin," was issued. Is it, again, certain that all generosity is on one side and that in this arrangement the opponent who consents to serve does not show at least an equal amount? Underlying these notions is the feeling, bred of the old bureaucratic regime, that sitting on a committee is an honour. Public men do not seem to realise that under a parliamentary or semi-parliamentary regime, they should maintain the dignity of democracy and not hunt about for or accept places with the former avidity. After all every measure of Government is open to the criticism of legislators; and as an educative influence on democracy such criticism is of higher value than the amicable interchanges of committee rooms. Moreover no Government is eternal; if it goes wrong, the succeeding Government might set it right. In an autocracy, perversely adhering to its pose of infallibility, there is real need for approaching and propitiating the gods before they issue their mandates so difficult or impossible to alter subsequently. Democratic evolution if slower is more educative; and depends on patience and continuous agitation. The sight of people hurrying to the ministerial altars with prayers and incense makes one wonder whether they have realised that it is in their power to exact ministerial conformity to their wishes; and if they have whether they have succeeded in adjusting their mentality and manners to this new conception.

The second argument is that thus Government could circumvent and gain over the opposition. Why then have a party Government? If Government is not willing to fight, how is one to judge of its capacity to fight? Is it fair to one's own followers that the captain should constantly be appealing for help to the enemy? How can the Government claim credit for any of the measures evolved by combinations of this kind?

Of far greater importance than the peace and prosperity of

Government are democracy and the traditions of public life neither of which are likely to advance under the practice, now operating as an invariable system, of mixed committees. The principle of coalition—for it is that, though not avowed—can only apply to times of national crisis or matters admittedly treated as above party. Any feeling that the application of this principle would in South India inflict an injustice on the Brahmins, is in reality a reflection on the basis on which the parties themselves are formed or rather the "*Justice*" party is formed. It is a novel development of horticulture to insist on a non-brahmin root and stem with any number of Brahmin grafts in the branches.

The committees are further strengthened or vitiated by a copious infusion of the official element. There is no objection to the Reserved subjects which are bureaucratically administered. For there party is not supposed to obtain, but party does obtain in the transferred field—or could; and it is the first dictum of constitutionalism that officials should not be dragged into party politics. In fact it is open to question whether officials of the permanent service could be allowed to vote at all or take part in the discussions pertaining to the departments covered by ministerial responsibility to the Legislature. Are they to speak and vote for one party to-day and its opposite, if it comes to power, to-morrow? How could the Civil Service maintain its self-respect and capacity for impartial service and loyalty to all Governments however composed? So long as the distinction between transferred and reserved subjects exists their presence in the legislature is not open to condemnation, but their activities, vocal or manual, should be confined, by convention at least, to the bureaucratic sphere. A democratic party specially intent on the larger ideals that it is there to promote cannot be too scrupulous in dissociating itself from bureaucratic contaminations of all kinds.

The first essential of a party is that it have a policy and a programme. Its leaders should stand for definite courses of action in their several departments. They owe their places to their character as representatives of policies and causes. The Bureaucrat who owes his to seniority or other mechanical or intellectual excellence is expected to have

what is called an open mind in matters in which Governmental interests are not deeply involved; and he often placates popular representatives by the lavish appointment of committees on which they are given a place to consider and report on subjects regarding which he could afford to be more or less disinterested. But if a minister parades an open mind on subjects included in the party programme, it betrays an inability to rise above the atmosphere created by his Councillor colleagues. And yet the open mind and composite committees have been too much in evidence. The open mind is in fact an evasion of responsibility. If the minister cannot or will not commit himself to anything, what is he to be held responsible for, unless, as in England, he is laughed out of existence for the open mind itself, which it would be difficult to distinguish from a blank one? The number of committees appointed is simply appalling. But there is something to be said in its favour as they serve the very useful and necessary purpose of educating members, many of whom are new to public life, in the problems of the day. As a transitional measure it cannot be disapproved; but indulgence in it would be fatal to manly, responsible leadership. In England only measures of very minor interest are referred to the Standing Committees. Legislation and reforms of any importance, and more especially those covered by party pronouncements, are introduced by the ministers, who doubtless consult the officials and selected men of their own political persuasion, and discussed in Committee of the whole house. Spreading a blank sheet of paper and appointing a committee to sit on it is hardly the quintessence of statesmanship.

The simple truth is we have not out-grown the Bureaucratic environment; nor shown eagerness to assume responsibility. Copartnership is still the rule and leadership is avoided as far as possible. There is safety in a multitude and the ministers all over India are not averse to take refuge in it. What a number of impregnable buffer states in the shape of committees surround the ministerial territories, which thus receive a protection that even membership of the League of Nations cannot give! In England most of the legislature time is taken up by Government; here in India by private members; there Government initiates

most of the constructive measures and reforms and assumes responsibility for them and their financial consequences ; things here are still running pretty much as they used to do under the old regime. No wonder Dyarchy is not compatible with full responsibility or the party system at its best. For on the subject of Swaraj or Dominion Rule, all Indians are equally nationalist and united. Those who are united in essence cannot keep up stable party conflicts on matters of lesser moment. Further more, those who vote together as one body in the Reserved field, cannot always be relied upon to group themselves away from each other as soon as they enter the Transferred. As there is no collective ministry, and what ministry there is could do very little in the absence of full financial powers, we are still in the valley of the shadow of bureaucracy and have not emerged into the open plains and full light of democracy. If party and responsibility have practically failed in Madras, they have not the ghost of a chance of succeeding elsewhere.

SCRUTATOR.

## BY-GONE BRITISH ARTISTS IN INDIA.

During the latter years of the eighteenth century, and the earlier portion of the last one, a number of British artists of considerable distinction found India to offer a fresh and remunerative field for their brush and palette.

Without going into a long catalogue of names, it may be mentioned that the list included (in chronological order) William Hodges, R.A., Johann Zoffany, R.A., Robert Horne, Ozias Humphrey, R.A., George Chinnery, and George Beechey. Of these, Humphrey and Zoffany were by far the most celebrated. Zoffany, however, although an R.A., was really of mixed German and Italian extraction.

The first British artist of any sort of note to visit India appears to have been one with the somewhat remarkable name of Tilly Kettle. The son of a coach painter, he landed, in the year 1721, at Calcutta, "where he practised his art with such success as to amass a fortune." After executing commissions for a number of portraits (his sitters including that Sir Elijah Impey of whom Macaulay had so unflattering an opinion, Warren Hastings, and the Nabob of Arcot) he returned to London. While in England he exhibited a large canvas, crowded with figures and depicting "Shah Allum reviewing the East India Company's Troops at Allahabad". The artistic world of London, however, proved unreceptive. Accordingly he set out to return to India, but died on the voyage.

William Hodges, who started life as a London errand boy and finished up as a Royal Academician, first went out to India in 1778 at the invitation of Warren Hastings. He only stopped there seven years, devoting himself principally to reproducing jungle scenes and landscapes, and a very fine view of the Taj Mahal. In 1780 the Calcutta Gazette announced the sale of a "valuable collection of paintings, late the property of Augustus Cleveland," from the brush of Hodges. Humboldt has recorded in his *Cosmos* that it was these pictures of the country that induced him to travel himself. Hodges exhibited at the Royal Academy for several years, becoming first an Associate and then, in 1787, a full-fledged R.A.

Johann Zoffany (born Zanffely), also basked in the sunshine of Warren Hasting's favour. With a big London reputation, the warm approval of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the patronage of George III, he sailed for Bengal in 1780. On arrival, he established himself at Calcutta, subsequently proceeding to Lucknow and Agra. Among his best known pictures painted in India, are his "Colonel Mordaunt's Cockfight at Lucknow", "Tiger Hunt in the East Indies", and "Embassy of Hyder Beg," with the inevitable portraits of Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of Bengal, together with those of several Indian princes.

While in Calcutta, an altar-piece, representing the Last Supper was painted by Zoffany for St. John's Church. A police magistrate is said to have sat for the Saviour, and the originals of the twelve Apostles figuring in this composition were selected from leading citizens, the Judas being attributed to a local auctioneer. Anticipating that such a model might conceivably prove coy, the artist is said to have persuaded his subject that the figure for which he was required was that of the disciple John. The worthy knight of the rostrum (whose biblical knowledge could not have been very profound) swallowed the bait and willingly gave the necessary sittings.

Thus, the story. Still, it is only fair to add that another account declares that the Judas Iscariot was not a Calcutta auctioneer, but a certain Mr. Paull, British Resident at Oude. However, it all happened so long ago, that it matters very little now.

Church finance in India at that far off period seems to have been conducted on much the same lines as elsewhere. Thus having light-heartedly incurred considerable expense and got a valuable work from an accomplished artist, the vestry committee found they had no funds with which to pay him. It was, however, "unanimously agreed to send him an honourable written testimonial of the respect in which they held his ability". The "testimonial", in lieu of cash, took the following form :—

"We should do violence to your delicacy were we to express or endeavour to express, in such terms as the occasion calls for, our sense of the favour you have conferred on the Settlement, by

presenting their first Place of Worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first church in Europe, and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety so happily portrayed in the figures".

Although he was much too polite to say so, the recipient of this flowery "testimonial" would probably have been better pleased if the committee had "portrayed" a few figures of another description on a cheque.

In the year that Zoffany left India, a painter of only little less distinction arrived in the country. This was Robert Horne, the son of an army surgeon, who set himself up first of all, at Madras, where he was commissioned to execute a portrait of Lord Cornwallis. He then seems to have gone to Lucknow, to take up the appointment of historical painter to the King of Oude. His Majesty, however, was a somewhat difficult master to serve, for if after a work had been completed he happened to quarrel with anybody depicted in it he would require another member of his suite to be substituted. Horne, accordingly, resigned and transferred himself to Cawnpore, where he died in 1830 at the advanced age of 82. Among his best known works are the "Nawab of Oude receiving Tribute", "Tippoo's Sons received as Hostages", and the "Death of Morehouse at the Storming of Bangalore". These three were sent to England, the first being hung at Hampton Court.

As a portrait painter, Robert Horne (who had been trained by Angelica Kauffmann) met with considerable success. In Calcutta his skill was sought by the leading residents; and among those whom he painted were the Marquis Wellesley as Commander-in-Chief, and the Duke of Wellington as Governor of Mysore. Bishop Heber gave him four sittings; and he also had a regular salary of Rs. 5,000 a year from the Nawab Sandut Ali.

The English artist with the greatest reputation to visit India was Ozias Humphrey, the celebrated miniaturist. It is an open secret that certain works attributed to Romney really emanated from Humphrey who could reproduce his style with extraordinary fidelity. There was also a strong suggestion of Reynolds about a good deal of it. Considerations of health only permitted him to spend three years in India, and he returned to

England in 1788, becoming an Academician in 1791. His miniatures found immense favour with the Indian princes, a number of whom he painted in Calcutta, Lucknow, Benares, and Moorshedabad.

The first British artist of any note to come to India during the early years of last century was George Chinnery. Settling in Calcutta (after visiting China under the patronage of Lord Macartney) he soon found constant employment as a portrait painter. His work was much admired by Lady Nugent; and among the more important people for whom he executed commissions were Lord Minto, General Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Henry Russell, and Sir Francis Macnaughten. Of these portraits, the first was hung in the Council Chamber, the second in Government House, and the two latter in the High Court. There is an idea, however, that the Eyre Coote picture was really one of Lord Moira.

At one time the vogue of Chinnery was so pronounced that he was able to charge very substantial fees; and he is reputed to have earned Rs. 60,000 a year by his brush. He would probably have earned far more, had it not been for a temperamental infirmity which often made him grow tired of a picture when it was only half finished and decline to complete it. When he left India about the year 1825, a number of these unfinished works were put up to auction. Some time afterwards, he returned to the East, and died of apoplexy at Macao.

The last British artist of any real note to set up his studio in India in pre-Mutiny days was George Beechey, son of Sir William Beechey, R.A. He had been so well taught by his father that he exhibited at the Royal Academy when only seventeen. Proceeding to India, he established himself at Calcutta in 1830, and then moved to Lucknow, where he became Court painter and Controller of the household to the Nawab of Oude. He married an Indian lady whose portrait, entitled "Hinda", was exhibited at the Academy of 1832, where it created a considerable sensation. Beechey lived in India for five-and-twenty years, and died there just before the outbreak of the Mutiny.

## A NOTE ON KANGAR.

It can very well be admitted by a student of general history that it is somewhat difficult if not impossible to conceive the idea of writing a short history of Kangar inasmuch as one cannot help standing on the slippery ground of uncertainty in regard to this and other kindred subjects. Little or no information is to be had either in manuscripts or in tradition or in archaeological finds. To put something in black and white with reference to the above despite the paucity of conclusive data sounds hazardous and is sure to evoke public laughter. In view thereof it might be a safer policy to retain silence and not disturb the reader's quiet tenure of life. But the man, who belongs to the modern age in which scholars compete with one another all over the world in studying the past to vivify the present, by unravelling the history of any bit of antiquarian interest, cannot resist the temptation to contribute his quota to satisfy the antiquarian appetite. Hence I find it to be in tune with the tendency of the present age to record the little result that my study of Kangar has yielded.

It is a well known adage and finds currency among almost all the human communities of the world that necessity is the mother of invention and that God made the country and man made the cities. The aborigines or the original inhabitants of cold countries had in the beginning of their settlement therein to suffer much from the inclemencies of weather. Where snow keeps falling and accumulates first into avalanches then into heaps and finally into mountains, there the immigrants' attention is sure to be attracted to the ways and means of remedy against this curse of snow and it goes without saying that Kashmir veritably once wore the aspect of a frigid zone for the major portion of the year and did lie literally under water in the prehistoric age. The Nilamatapuram and other accounts of the Valley begin, one and all, with its description under the title of 'Satisaras' or the lake of Sati. It was naturally and necessarily then the abode of Sati and her lord Siva, the god of dreary wilderness.

One shivers at the idea even in these days of the Flood Channel and the Himalayan Dredge and such other blessings that the city now called Srinagar and before known as Pravarapura was water and water alone and the big waves kept tossing and dashing against the tops of the mountain rocks. Even to this day the mooring ghat of this unique lake is identified with 'naubandhana' or the binding place of a boat. It is on account of the superabundance of water that Kashmir is still regarded by the pious and orthodox folk as the land of 'nagas' and Nilanaga is pointed out as the mythological sovereign of the Valley.

The venturesome people that first settled in Kashmir were called 'yakshas' or 'pisacas' because of their hard and robust constitution and unequalled enduring capacity. And the first engineer who devised the plan of draining the lake and its conversion into the present charming dale is called Kasyapa to whom the present name of the Valley is traced. It was considered almost a wonder to live in 'Satisaras' and hence the first settler is called Jalodbhava or the one born of waters. As soon as the water was drained and the demon Jalodbhava destroyed the people commenced pouring in flocks to settle and live peacefully in the Valley. Human brain and hand combined to make it inhabitable and the cities arose in succession and the vegetation luxuriated. But the severities of the horrible cold did not abate and the settlers directed their attention to excogitating a means of remedy against them. They seem first to have hit upon the idea of making fire by means of burning a few logs. Small such logs are technically called 'kangs'\*.

This sort of getting temporary relief from chill blasts of wind and heavy snowfall could have been felt convenient by them only so long as and when they were in a nomadic condition and live in the open air or in sheds of mud walls. To accommodate such

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\* Be it remembered in this connection that 'kanka' is a Sanskrit word meaning a kind of tree. The derivation that the Kashmira Sabdamrita gives to 'Kangar' is rather far fetched and unphilological. The derivation of 'Kangar' from 'kang' has cost the author one long sutra. The sutras as far as their significance and scope is concerned should have their application not in one stray solitary instance but they must cover at least a stock of words similar in origin. The author has given no other examples than 'Kangar' as a feminine derivative from 'kang'.

huge fires in the centre of the dwellings of wood might have proved dangerous and might have opened an easy and inviting way to huge conflagrations doing havoc to the huts—the fruit of their long labour. Besides, the Hindus who settled early in Kashmir had to keep the fire always ablaze as the worship of fire formed a part and parcel of their creed. Hence, it is likely that they desired eagerly to have a separate accommodation for the fire and chalked out a scheme of the 'vedis' or fire altars.

The construction of the above is as old as or perhaps older than the period of the Brahmans. Success in the construction of the 'vedis' did secure them a permanent lodging for the big fires. But as regards the small fires that the householders of the Brahmanic order had to maintain day and night as 'agnihotris' or as the followers of the fire cult, the difficulty had to be faced and some efficient means to have escape therefrom was the crying need. They or their ancestors had, it is surmised, observed some depression in the land and the accumulation of rain water therein caught their gaze. They developed the idea suggested by these phenomena of nature and the formation of the 'Kundas' or the round holes in the ground came in vogue. And the fire began to be lighted and maintained in these 'kundas'.

But to have a portable 'kunda' that could be used in all places, their inventive brain had to exercise itself a little more in this direction and success was achieved after repeated trials and experiments in forming heavy and huge mud basins for the fire. All the guide books giving instructions regarding the performance of Vedic ceremonies and the subsequent Tantrik rites have each a chapter devoted to the discussion of the details connected with the construction of 'the portable 'kundas''. This chapter is called the 'kundamandapavidhana'. They were rectangular in shape and their parts were known by such technical names as 'kantha', 'nala', etc.

The handy and the portable species of the huge earthen vessels marks the distinctive stage of progress in clay modelling. These find their remnant in the present 'agnamanan'. Most of the families of the present Kashmiri Pandits keep one 'agnamanan' each. In this they perform the fortnightly cere-

monies or the 'pakshayaga'. The term is very old and is traceable to the Sanskrit word 'agnyadhmaṇa'. Its constituents, *i.e.* 'agni' and 'adhmaṇa' yield the sense of a vessel in which the fire is blown. There is yet another descendant from the Sanskrit word 'adhmaṇa' *i.e.* 'manan' which in Kashmiri means the vessel wherein goldsmiths melt gold and silver. 'Manan' is better known as the name of an earthen fire brazier. It is perhaps an approach to what is generally understood by the term 'sakati' in Sanskrit. In formation it somewhat resembles a small cart and seems to have been wheeled to facilitate its passage from one place to another. 'Sakati' is the ancient name of 'manan'. As such it is included in the lexicon of Amarasimha (500 A. D.).

Owing to the constant contact with the fire the bottom and the sides of the earthen 'kundas' or 'manan' got reddened and baked and their users at once took into their head the process of baking the earthen vessels. Some such circumstance as the above seems to have led to the art of pottery. It is coeval with the art of weaving. The manufacture of an earthen jar and of cloth serves generally as a stock example of the human handicraft. As such it is referred to by the Buddhists and other philosophic schools of the pre-Christian and medieval ages. References to weaving and pottery are found even in the works of the Sutra period.

Thus a 'kunda' when baked and made circular in shape began to be called a 'kundala' and an earthen jar was at first made of two such circular halves. These are denoted in Sanskrit by 'kharpra' or 'kapala' which primarily means a human skull. Thus the idea of giving a circular shape to 'kunda' is accountable by the fact that the ancients saw many a human skull lying exposed to the public view in plains and fields. The 'narakundul' a big baked circular jug full of fire in the inside replaced 'manan' and the neighbours when coming to ask for fire used to receive and take it home in a 'khopur' or 'kharpala' (a potsherd). This is borne out by the well known saying 'woparas narahan khoparas kyath', *i.e.*, a slight fire should be given to a stranger and that too in a potsherd. This potsherd was put to another use by the ancient Kashmiris when they had to prepare a bellyful of food. They put charcoals in it and placed a bowl thereon containing

water and grains of husked rice. Through the holes made in the potsherd around they blew the fire into flames. To verify this the reader may have a look at what is commonly called 'occh' in Kashmiri in which singhara nuts are even now fried. He may also consult the reference 'astakapalam carum nirvapit', *i.e.*, food prepared in eight potsherds be offered in the name of the manes.

The last improvement on this potsherd used in preparing food is traceable in the 'hahakol' a heritage of the past and of utility even now in every household. It is a bowl of baked earth with three stands and holes below and around. 'Hahakol' is a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'svasakapala'.

When a huge 'kundul' of mud placed centrally in each house with the fire inside to warm the family members sitting around it proved a sort of annoyance rather than a means of comfort on account of not infrequent stirring and blowing of the fire from above, they used a baked 'kundul' of earth with coals around and below it. This species of 'kundul' could be, being baked, easily heated and easily could the heat radiate from it. It needed no blowing from the human mouth because the air finding its way into the 'kundul' through the holes kept in always ablaze.

Mankha, a Kashmiri Sanskrit writer, refers to this 'kundul' and calls it 'hasantika'. It is so called because the reddish white light coming out through the holes is comparable to the laughing of a handsome lady. Reader's attention is invited to stanza 29, canto III of the Srikanthacarita of Mankha given below for ready reference :

"Himagame yatra grhesu yositam,  
Jvaladbahucchidrasakhi hasantika;  
Vibhati jetum madanena sulinam,  
Dhrta tatirvahniayiva caksusam".

*i.e.*, the Valley of Kashmir in the houses of which the fire brazier appeared at the advent of the winter season as bright as a row of fiery eyes assumed by the god of love to vanquish Siva on account of the many holes aglow with fire.

Ksemendra, a prolific writer of the 11th century A. D., refers

to 'Kangar' by the name of 'agnikundika' and says in his Narmamala about to be published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies :

"Tusagnikundikatapadagdhasphigvrsanodarah"

i.e., his private parts and belly, etc., were burnt with the heat of the 'kangar' bearing the husks fire.

Small portable baked earthen vessels were also then formed and they were called 'kundul'. But the man carrying it felt trouble because the hand got burnt owing to the heat of the fire. Hence, the need was felt now and then for giving a wooden casing to it. But the ordinary wood could not satisfy their need as it could not easily be cut into a circular form so as to fit the 'kundul' exactly. Besides the difficulty of formation, wooden casing would have proved heavier and hence it had to be discarded. The choice of the ancients fell naturally on wood of course but on such only as could be once light and flexible. The twigs of the trees big and small presented themselves for this use.

The intertwining of the branches of the above suggested their use as is at present made of osier or wickers. The method of joining the twigs by bending them was further improved by imitating the people of the plains where the work in bamboo was going on at a rapid stride. Different domestic articles such as the winnowing basket, etc., were formed of bamboo outside Kashmir. The different kinds of osier which only could be had for the said purpose in Kashmir were supplied by different trees and these were reserved for the particular species of wickers such as 'supy-kany', 'pasy-kany', 'phuty-kany', 'viry-kany', etc. The term is probably derived from the Sanskrit 'kanda' which, among other things, means a stick and an arrow. Arrow is known in Kashmir by the name of 'kan'.

The gradual success in the art of the wicker work and the rich reward that it brought to the worker in this field caught the attention of a number of people and consequently a separate class sprang into being. The members of this class are called 'kanyily'. A male member is called a 'kanyul' and a female a 'kanyilbay'. The names find their ancestor in the Sanskrit terms 'kandira' and 'kandirabharya'. 'Kandira' as meaning a worker in osier and as an archer is far older than the Paniniān

system of grammar (400 B. C.). In corroboration hereof the reader may consult the Astadhyayi and find the aphorism 'kandandadiranniracau'.

'Kanyily, in course of time presented various fruits of their labour and the Valley of Kashmir was placed under a debt of gratitude by their skilful weaving of many articles of domestic use. These are known to us in the following names :—

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>
'Karanda'.	'Krund', 'Krand' and 'Krunjyul'.
'Putaka'.	'Phot', 'Photar'.

It may also be remembered in this connection that 'thyup', *i.e.* an osier cage, is also philologically derivable from the term 'pitaka', a basket, by the processes of reversion and aspiration. The above Sanskrit words are all given in Amarakosa and other subsequent lexicons.

The art of wicker work came into use and was carried on even in ancient times in Kashmir. Dwellings seem to have been constructed of twigs and branches in the prehistoric age. In genuine Kashmiri they are known by 'lari' the plural of 'lar'. 'Lata' a Sanskrit equivalent for creeper has first passed into 'land', then into 'lal' by the elision of the nasal and the conversion of the lingual into the palatal and finally into 'lar'. References are found to the formation of creeper houses in Kalidasa and other writers of antiquity. "Chyai-pahar", a thatched cot, was in existence until very recently and it did remind of their original form in 'parnasala' and 'latagrha', *i.e.* leaf-sheds and creeper-houses respectively.

Weaving of the twigs and branches is, in my opinion, more ancient than the weaving of cloth. Indian philosophers and poets often indulge in likening the embodied soul to a bird in cage, the body forming the cage of the soul. Human skeleton with its bones, tendons and nerves is called a cage or a pinjara. The formation of a skeleton suggested, I believe, the use of the pliable branches of the trees.

'Kangar', I believe, at first meant only the osier casing that was given to the earthen firepot, 'kundul'. So the 'Kangar' is

the corruption of the 'kandagar' with the lingual elision. Even in the Kashmiri of to-day the casing of any such thing as watch etc. is called 'gara'. In course of time the 'Kangar' began to mean metonymically not only the osier casing but also the earthen firepot inside the casing. There are, broadly speaking, two varieties of 'Kangar', one 'caky-Kangar' and the other 'thipy-Kangar' or 'Thipar' as in 'sora-Thipar', the former being the improvement on the latter. The 'Thipar' is so called because it is made in the likeness of a 'thyup' or cage which in turn was fashioned after the human skeleton.

It is natural and reasonable therefore to conceive the idea that the construction of 'Kangar' originated in Kashmir and it is as old as the time when the people of the Valley had Sanskrit or a sub-dialect of it as their spoken language. All the different parts of the 'Kangar' bear such terms as are ultimately traceable to their Sanskrit source. It has already been said in the foregoing pages that it existed in its elementary form as 'kondul'. 'Kondul' is a direct descendent from 'kundala'. Later on a wicker-work coating was given to it and it then was known as 'Thipar' which in its turn is a corruption of the Sanskrit The third stage of its improvement is marked by its appearance as the 'caky-Kangar' or the 'Kangar' with a 'cok'.

'Cok' is the circular base upon which the 'Thipar' stands. The bottom of all things is called in Kashmiri 'cok' and as such it is derivable from 'cakra' a wheel. The portion over the earthen pot is called 'kop'. It is a corruption of 'kutapa' or a leather bag for oil. The front handles of 'Kangar' are called 'lanji', the plural of 'land' or the Sanskrit 'lata'. These handles are overwoven with the comparatively tiny twigs 'valyut' and it is traceable to 'valita', woven around. The bridge joining the two front handles is called 'Nas' or 'nasa' the nose. The back handle is represented by a ring or rings of twigs. It is called 'kor' or 'kataka' a bracelet.

From the above review of the derivation of some of the names of the different parts of 'Kangar', one cannot help saying that it is rather inaccurate and unauthentic to hold that the 'Kangar' is a foreign invention. Were it foreign a part at least of its body

should have been known by such name as could have retained a semblance of its corresponding foreign name.

The manuscript evidence at once destroys the possibility, if any, of its importation into the Happy Valley. A manuscript copied over a century ago by a person named Bagylot contains an instruction prescribing the way in which the gift of a 'Kangar' should be made. According to it the 'karusa' is the name of the deity invoked at the time of making its gift and 'Kangar' too is named after 'karusa'. My assertion that the 'Kangar' is purely a local invention is authenticated by the couplet given in the same manuscript and running as follows :—

Krsanugarbha karusa,  
Tantubhih parivarita ;  
Site pure nivasartham,  
Vicitrena krtta pura.

*i.e.*, the 'kasura' or 'Kangar' as possessing fire inside and as encircled by twigs was in ancient times invented by Vicitra to help the people to live in a cold country.

Vicitra seems to be rather a title than a name conferred on the inventor of 'Kangar' in recognition of his novel ingenuity.

MADHUSUDAN KAUL.

## THE SUCCESS OF POPULAR INSTITUTIONS.

In a previous contribution\* we presented an outline of the position of a leader in a democratic country. Shall we now attempt a short description of what we think to be essential in the community itself? The distinction which we assume between the community and the leaders may appear highly artificial, for after all are not leaders part and parcel of the community itself? The distinction, however, may be tolerated for the sake of a clearer and more accurate discussion. What are the requirements in the community for the success of democratic institutions? Following very closely Lord Bryce, the great champion of democratic regime and lucid exponent of democratic organizations, we would reduce them to two main headings, *viz.*, good sense and sound judgment and self-control. We may be allowed at the very outset to quote in full the weighty words of our mentor in political science. "A people through which good sense and self-control are widely diffused are the best philosophers and the best legislators, as is seen in the history of Rome and in that of England. It was to the sound judgment and practical quality in these people that the excellence of their respective constitutions and systems of law was due not that in either people wise men were exceptionally numerous, but that both were able to recognise wisdom when they saw it and willingly followed the leaders who possessed it." These statements contain an advice of the most vital importance for us and we would do well to ponder over and weigh the consequences that can be drawn from them.

Much has been written and a good deal more should be written still on the subject of democratic institutions and popular government, on the preparation necessary for efficient citizenship and on the obligations that the privilege impose upon every member of the community. We are afraid lest the enjoyment of power and the exaltation that it brings in its trail, should cloud and darken the understanding of the people to grasp the responsibilities of the trust. Men are usually ambitious of power

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\*See *H. R.* for September, 1921.

and people who have been deprived of its exercise for a long time, would welcome it the more and in the excitement of the moment fail to take in the full significance of the privilege. The wielding of power should be looked upon more as a heavy burden with tremendous responsibilities attached to it than a privilege lightly to be discharged.

It is not uncommon for a country to lay at the feet of its government the calamities afflicting her. For this attitude of mind the authorities themselves are largely to blame. The secrecy which has surrounded the deliberations of autocratic administrations, the intrigues and machinations which have been a common feature in many of the dynasties of the world, the abuses and excesses and orgies of the privileged classes have not without ground created the impression in the multitudes that the many have been ruled and exploited for the benefit of the few, that selfishness has presided over the dispositions of rulers and their own aggrandisement has been the goal. This attitude of mind must go, for in a democracy if wrongs are committed and disaster befalls a nation the people themselves will have to share the responsibility and stand the blame.

Let us discuss at some length the implications of the two requirements set forth above; and first of all let us consider what good sense and sound judgment involve. It could be asserted at the very beginning without fear of contradiction that sound judgment does exactly coincide with education and learning. Commendable as the effect to spread the light of education is, no illusion should be entertained as to its real value and proper place in the community. Scholarship is necessarily accompanied by sound judgment on questions of practical bearing. Cases are not wanted of voters who though deprived of the light of education are in a better position to sit in judgment and give an opinion on issues of ordinary life than scholars of good standing. In political issues the principle of Aristotle in his *Nicomachian Ethics* is largely applicable. Political Science is not like Mathematics and other abstract human pursuits in which principles of universal application and of general importance can easily be formulated. The changes of climate, the vicissitudes of time, and the peculiar features of the country do not affect the

validity of mathematical abstractions. Euclid's elements are still text-books in our schools and colleges. In Moral Sciences, on the other hand, the standards of conduct undergo substantial change according to the conditions of the time and persons. Hence no wonder that Aristotle ranks experience so high among the requisites for a moral view of conduct. Good deductive reasoning and syllogistic acumen do not count for much without a comprehensive view of the surrounding and social environment together with a forecast of the consequences of a particular behaviour. Good sense, then, does not mean more theoretical knowledge of the standards of social life, a bare acquaintance with the prevalent views of the time, but it covers the capacity for taking in all the circumstances of life, the ability to grasp the nature of the environment in which human character and habits of action are shaped.

We should reckon as a manifestation of good sense and sound judgment a right appreciation of human capacities. We should not expect too much of human organizations, neither should we undervalue them. Over-estimation produces oversensitiveness and impetuosity, making extremely difficult that most important of civic virtues, self-control. On the other hand we should not yield to the suggestions of the pessimist who despairs of all human endeavour. Who will question the fact that our assemblies and parliaments and houses of deputies are subject to the limitations and failures of human nature? The fact that abuses are committed and wrongs perpetrated even in such august bodies and that their members are a prey to the common temptation of their fellow-men should not discourage anybody. That artificer is successful who employs the best instruments available at the moment. What will be thought of the artist who will refuse to set his hand on canvas until he gets an ideal brush? Very akin to this sense of right appreciation of human capacities is self-control. We cannot conceive of greater asset to the life of a nation than its composure and self-restraint both in time of national disaster and in times of joy and gladness. The passions which are roused in times of great crisis are not easily kept within bounds. France affords us an object lesson. Three revolutions have shaken the very foundations of national organizations.

Deep chasms were opened between various classes of the community and the most violent passions of the human *bête* were let loose. And to this day the bitterness of the workman against the bourgeois persists and the rage of the socialist against the clerical runs still very high. In Spain the hatred of the church carries the republican to shameful acts of violence and in Italy similar phenomenon can be observed. Who will question that such state of things is a source of great weakness to these countries. Loss of self-restraint is undoubtedly one of the greatest national calamities that can supervene on a nation. If moderation is one of the most praiseworthy and admired qualities in an individual, enabling him to pass dispassionate judgment on disputed and controverted points, the same quality should not be held in less esteem in a nation.

We should also count as an indication of good sense and sound judgment a capacity, which we may well be allowed to call scent, the capacity to discover greatness and readiness to follow the lead. In practical life, the selection of a friend constitutes one of the most difficult and at the same time most eventful incidents in one's life. In the realm of conduct, a sense of anticipating a temptation, a moral sensitiveness to wrong, however far and distant it may be, is one of the most valuable safe-guards and surest preserver against sin. Similarly in the political sphere the ability to differentiate between the true and the fraudulent friend of the people, the instinct to winnow the chaff of verbosity and camouflage from the wheat of earnest devotion and service to the country, must be considered of foremost importance. The willingness to submit to the dictates of the learned does not imply hero-worship. The confidence and trust on the leaders of the country should not be lightly given or withdrawn for slender grounds, but ought to be the result of conviction of the intrinsic worth and merits of the leader.

And this naturally leads us to the consideration of a third sign of good sense, acquiescence to the will and decisions of the majority. Personally we have not the slightest sympathy for this method of settling problems of national importance. We cannot understand the reasons for endowing a number of people with the gift of infallibility. Hence does the majority derive

their right to rule and impose their will on the minority? "There is absolutely no guarantee, (as Dean Inge writes), in the nature of things that the decisions of the majority will be either wise or just; and what is neither wise nor just ought not to be done. This is somewhat elementary truism to enunciate to an intelligent audience; but there stands the ridiculous fetish, grinning in our faces, and the whole nation burns incense before it. It is, I think, our duty to challenge any one who talks of the "right" of the majority to do whatever they think fit, as follows: Your statement implies one of two things. Either you believe that the majority of every political aggregate is divinely inspired with wisdom and justice, which is a gross and absurd superstition; or you assert, with Thrasymachus in Plato's *Republic*, that justice is only a name for the interest of the stronger; a doctrine which the conscience of humanity agrees with Socrates in stigmatising as grossly immoral." Weighty as this criticism of Dean Inge is, we have to remember the words which Aristotle very pertinently wrote to the effect that common opinion cannot be far wrong in matters of conduct. We are not blind to the fact that by no stretch of imagination can the vote of the majority as is secured in most democracies be considered as the common will and opinion of the people. The methods of securing the consent of the majority as a rule are artificial and unnatural. But let us not forget we are dealing with imperfect human nature and until means are devised to record public opinion unhesitatingly and honestly we have to be satisfied with mere *counting of heads*. And in this imperfect state of things we should consider as of great value to the harmonious development of national life readiness to fall in with the opinions of the majority.

With a few general remarks on the *tone of public life* we shall bring this article to a close. Lord Bryce in attempting a definition of the term "tone of public life" says: "it can be felt rather than described, being something the presence of which is like ascent impalpable but unmistakable." It is one of those terms that baffles definition. It is, we may say, what it does. "It is a quality on the atmosphere, delightful when it stimulates, depressing when it lowers intellectual or moral vitality. It is

open-minded, free from prejudice and intolerance, governed by the love of truth. It is also imaginative and emotional, feeling the greatness of a nation's life, gladly recognizing the duty and the privilege of serving the State. It is patriotic in that sense of the word which implies that a nation ought to aim at righteousness as well as power. Even in ambitious men it restrains the promptings of mere self-interest. It insists that those to whom the people have given their trust as representatives or as officials, should show themselves worthy of a nation's best traditions, sets a high standard for those who come forward as leaders, expects from them not only good taste and decorum, but also honour and respect for one another's honour, requires them to apply not only the principle of *noblesse oblige* to themselves, but also to assume that opponents are to be treated with respect till they show themselves unworthy."

A country which has been for many years under the iron heel of autocratic rule, unable to express its feelings, incapable of self-expression, starts the run of democracy with an obvious handicap. It lacks traditions, that most inspiring of national factors, and, consequently, public life is deprived of that tone. A good example is afforded by the republics of South America and India of course is another instance. It is the traditions which set the tone to public life. But with the help of an enlightened press, free from partisan spirit, not contaminated with bias and prejudice, conscious of its exalted mission, and ever ready to expound the principles of social justice and equity, it ought not to be difficult to create a healthy atmosphere and to produce a noble tone of life.

P. G. BRIDGE.

## SUCCESSION LEGISLATION & MR. SESHAGIRI AYYAR'S BILL.

### I.

Socrates had a single-syllabled way of instilling wisdom. He used to ply his disciples with whys and hows. And tradition has it that he was eminently successful in his object.

Without pretending to be as wise as the Greek philosopher, the same method may be permitted to us in our approach to any question of importance. Certainly, a proposal to lay down the method of devolution of our properties after our death is one of National interest.

Any law of succession is primarily concerned with the public welfare. The properties dealt with by it are ownerless for the time being. The person who earned them and laid them by is no more. And the law of the land regulating the inheritance can come in only if the person has left no expression of what he (or she) desires to be done with them. Therefore individual likes and dislikes ought to affect the legislator in this branch very little indeed.

It may be laid down as a generally accepted proposition that all human institutions aim at continuity of racial life and culture. One of the objects of succession laws should therefore be to provide for the sustenance of rising generations. It is clear that the descendants of the deceased have a better claim than the ascendants to the properties left by him (or her).

As between descendants the question arises, who shall be preferred? Some societies have insisted on the necessity of keeping estates intact and promulgated the law of primogeniture. The eldest son has a divine right to be rich; and the others are to shift for themselves. In the Hindu communities governed by the *Mitakshara*, the same idea was once predominant, with this difference, that all the sons partook in the ownership, while the eldest alone had the right of management. Nowadays partition is so common that we need confine ourselves only to the cases of divided and self-acquired properties. Moreover, the

*Mitakshara* joint property passes by survivorship, and is outside the pale of the laws of succession.

Unfortunately, it has been the experience of mankind that trustees are generally rogues. To legislate so as to amass property in the hands of a few, with the pious hope that it will be used for the benefit of the many, is to run counter to the course which this experience will suggest. Emphatically we may assert that the law which facilitates the distribution of property to the largest number is by far the best. It is better that all have one meal a day than that tens should live in luxury while thousands die of hunger.

From this point of view the Muhammadan Law appears to be the best. There we have the gladdening spectacle of descendants or collaterals, near ascendants, and wife (or husband as the case may be) of the deceased being given shares in the inheritance simultaneously. Even the poor female sex is not excluded, a daughter getting half the share of a son. Remove this distinction between sexes, and you have an ideal law.

To put it briefly, as the object of any law is the securing of the general weal of the people, the object of succession laws are very directly so. This object can be realised by keeping in mind that we must provide food for the rising generations and that we must see to it that the property gets into the very hands of those for whose use it is intended, *i.e.*, that it is widely distributed.

In the practical achievement of this aim, another consideration has to be kept in view. It is what is ordinarily called the natural wishes of the person who dies possessed of the property. Expressed wishes are of course carried out by the laws governing wills. Even then only a certain latitude is allowed to the testator. If he takes it upon himself to govern the devolution of the property for a long time after his death, the law says that his wishes shall not be respected, that the dead hand shall not obstruct the free circulation of property beyond a certain measure.

But the laws of succession should be in conformity with the natural wishes of the people. An apt instance of what happens if this is not so can be found in the case of the Malayalee *marumakkathayam* law. There your earnings go to your sister's

son after your death. If you have educated yourself to feel that your own children have a greater claim upon your purse, you naturally try to divert all the income to the use of your progeny. A law in such direct contravention of the people's feelings is a source of temptation ; and therefore it must go.

The natural wishes of the people ;—this is a most elusive quantity. A legislator is very prone to mistake his own affections to be typical of the affections of every one else. The present writer, to take an instance, believes that one's daughters ought to inherit equally with one's sons. But before he would dare to present to his people a bill to this effect to be made into law, he would have attempted to educate public opinion to think the same as he does on the matter. For else, even if he contrived to have the bill passed into law (and the present councils and assemblies are in no sense representative of the people for the purpose now in question), he would be simply putting people to the trouble of writing wills to leave their property away from their female issue. And apart from the evils of the chronic litigation which usually attends the proving of any will, it is the duty of the legislator, as we have mentioned already, to refrain from running counter to the public opinion in the country, —to represent public opinion much more than to direct it into channels which appear to him to be praiseworthy.

## II.

We shall apply these general considerations on legislation in matters of inheritance to the feeble, illogical, and utterly futile Bill\* that Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar has brought forward to amend the *Mitakshara* law of Succession. It is necessary first to state the law as it obtains now in these provinces (Madras and Allahabad), and the principles underlying it.

The starting point of the *Mitakshara* Law of Succession as indeed of all Hindu Succession Laws, is found in the Texts of Manu :

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\* Bill No. XXVIII of 1921. Introduced in the Legislative Assembly on 26th September, 1921. It extends to the provinces of Madras and Allahabad.

The property of a near sapinda shall be that of a near sapinda; and

Sons (male issue) take the father's property. To the nearest sapinda the inheritance next belongs.

The accepted interpretation of these texts, is this, *viz.*, that the heirs are, in order, (1) son, (2) grandson, (son's son), (3) great-grand-son, (4) wife, (5) daughter, (6) daughter's son, (7) mother, (8) father, (9) brother, (10) brother's son, (11) brother's grandson. Then similarly grandmother, grandfather, their male issue to 3 generations, great-grandmother, great-grandfather, and their male issue to 3 generations. Then the grandson's grandson, his son, his grandson, *i.e.*, the male issue of the deceased from the 4th to 6th generations; the male issue of the father of the deceased from the 4th to the 6th generations similarly; similarly of the grandfather and of the great-grandfather. And so on again symmetrically till the agnates of the deceased to the 13th generation are exhausted. And failing only these, and other *dayadis* if any, those relatives of the deceased who are not his agnates or *gotra-dayadis*. These last are called *Bandhus* as opposed to *gotraja Sapindas* and are connected with the deceased through a female link. And female relations can succeed only on failure of all male relations, agnates or cognates.

Although the *Mitakshara* explains the term *Sapinda* as meaning community of blood, and enunciates propinquity of blood as the governing principle of fitness to succession, it will be seen that fitness to offer funeral oblations is the real test that is applied in practice. Leaving aside for a moment the five female heirs that are expressly enumerated, *viz.*, widow, daughter, mother, father's mother and father's father's mother, and the one cognate relation who succeeds before almost all other agnates (the daughter's son) as a matter of general custom, it will be seen that the funeral cake theory is consistently and logically applied. The grandson's grandson offers pindas to his father, grandfather and grandfather's father; he does not offer a pinda to his grandfather's grandfather, *i.e.*, to the deceased. So the property of the deceased does not go to the grandson's grandson

until 21 other heirs are exhausted, all these latter offering pindas either to the deceased, or to those to whom the deceased was bound to offer pindas, *i.e.*, to his agnatic ascendants to the 3rd degree. It is thus evident that the *Mitakshara* law of succession is both logical and symmetric.

Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar proposes to bring into the scheme of the law as it stands, after the brother's grand son (the 11th in order now), the following heirs in order: (1) the son's daughter, (2) the daughter's daughter, (3) sister, (4) sister's son, (5) step-sister, (6) step-sister's son, and (7) step-mother; and only on failure of the above the father's mother (the 12th in order now) or other heirs coming after her are to take the property of the deceased. His reasons are that "it has been widely felt that the female heirs enumerated in the Bill should succeed to the estate of a deceased person before his distant *Gnatis*. On the ground of consanguinity, there is no ground for not giving one's own grand-daughters nearer place of inheritance". He also points out that the *Mitakshara* system is largely based on consanguinity.

Mr. Ayyar, then, frankly throws overboard the funeral offering theory. For by no stretch of imagination can one conceive of the female heirs named above as performing *Shraddhas*: a woman is incapable of performing ceremonies, according to the *Shastras*. Though we can say that the sister's son offers pindas to his maternal grandfather who is also the father of the deceased, this test has been applied only by the *Dayabhag* of Bengal, under which he is a very near heir to the deceased. But then under that law the father's sister's son is also a near heir, as well as the son's daughter's son. We fail to see any corresponding provisions in Mr. Ayyar's Bill.

The reason why the sister's son and similar *Bandhus* are postponed by the *Mitakshara* till all agnates are exhausted is this, that the unity of the joint-family, which was then the prevailing social condition, required that people should belong to only one family at a time. To give inheritance to a person from two different families would tend to interfere with the integrity of the joint-family. Also, there was the agelong feeling of preference to relations through males, or of the same gotra or

clan, rather than to relations through females. Whatever the reason, the *Mitakshara* system was based partly only on consanguinity, for considerations of family overrode considerations of nearness in blood. Thus a distant *gnati*, as Mr. Ayyar points out, was preferred to a *Bandhu* as near as your sister's son.

If it is Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar's intention to apply the principle of consanguinity with greater rigour than the *Mitakshara* does, the intention appears to have been very sadly restrained from being translated into legislative measures. While it is easy to concede that the sister is a nearer relative than a grandparent, it is difficult to see how this nearness is greater than that of the father's sister in comparison with a great-grand-parent or a remoter *gnati*. Yet never a word do we find in Mr. Ayyar's Bill as to such other heirs, male or female, agnatic or cognatic, besides the precious empirical half-a-dozen and one named by him. Again if nearness in blood is to be test, why wait until the list is exhausted up to the brother's grandson before giving the property to the son's daughter?

Mr. Ayyar therefore deliberately shuts his eyes to the religious principles, or prejudices if he likes it better, which govern the *Mitakshara* law of succession; and he fails to apply even the principle of consanguinity with any measure of boldness or consistency. Therefore we do not hesitate to characterise this attempt of his to legislate as timid and illogical. We can safely prophesy that Mr. Ayyar will have the orthodoxy of the land up in arms against him.

Nor does the Bill bear examination in the light of the principles of public welfare that we enunciated above. For one thing, the remoter descendants of the deceased, who are already postponed to 21 heirs under the existing law, will be postponed to 7 more under Mr. Ayyar's Bill. We would have thought that if the law called for amendment in any respect, it was in this. Reflect for a moment that the contingency of a grandson's grandson claiming the inheritance can occur only if the issue of the owner to three generations next to him predecease him. And does it require any reasoning to show that at the death of the owner his grandson's grandsons, and all in the male line

too, will still be young children? Who more deserving of the pity of the legislator, such a helpless child, or a sister's son? Mr. Ayyar has said elsewhere that incapacity to manage property ought to be no bar to inherit and own it in these days of efficient governmental and legal protection. He has obviously forgotten to read the lessons he would teach.

This so far as the principle of the first preference to descendants is concerned. As to the second principle of wide distribution of property, Mr. Ayyar's Bill leaves matters where they are already. Any meddling with the *order* of succession will not advance this purpose. Only when several classes of heirs are allowed to take property simultaneously, will the law effectively distribute the property of the deceased among those who have natural claims upon it. For whether you prefer a son to a daughter, or a daughter to a son, you give the property either to the class of sons first, or to the class of daughters first. In either case one class cannot take unless all the members of the preferred class are already dead. The proper provision will therefore be to give the property to daughters along with sons' sons and daughters' sons; to sisters along with brothers. If a legislator is fearful that these changes are too radical, the best thing to do would be to educate people to view the present system as unnatural and the altered system as the normal one. Mr. Ayyar, on the other hand, while not escaping the charge of trying to introduce revolutionary changes, for such are his proposals to prefer the named female heirs and *bandhus* to agnates like the paternal uncle would still undertake only such experiments as will answer no useful purpose. That is our meaning in calling the Bill futile.

The Bill fails both according to the principles of the *Mitakshara* and according to the tenets of public policy. What has Mr. Ayyar to say on the matter? 'It has been widely felt'. What exactly has been felt and how widely? Has the feeling been confined to the 7 heirs named by him? Has it been felt only in regard to the order of succession? We wonder what answer Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar has to these queries.

## THE HEADMASTER.

Story-tellers and their admiring audience would do well to remember that there were other people in the world besides kings. I say this, because they would often have us believe that none but kings was ever born or ever married and begot children. I make bold to affirm, because I know it fully well, that there were lots of people in this world besides kings, people who, even from the story-teller's standpoint, are as interesting as their so-called and not rarely unbeloved rulers. Therefore, those who have ceased to find any gustatory delight in an apparently plentiful fare in which monarchy in different forms is served up in several dishes, will, of course readily fall to the following novelty in the culinary realm.

### ONCE THERE WAS A HEADMASTER !

Pray, do not ask me the date and place of his birth, his age and the history of his service, for, if you do, it will be hard for me to withhold the information and if I give it, it will certainly go hard with me, for, walls have ears, and the long-dead headmaster will surely hear of my wicked deed and will come back to life flourishing his fearful cane, twitching his masculine moustache in defiance, riding his hobby-horse of bustling indiscretion to hang me for the libellous sacrilege. Therefore I must be content with stating the plain truth in its virgin purity unsullied by informations deluding touch that, "once there was a headmaster".

He had under him heaps of boys who wholesomely hated him; a goodly number of lieutenants who never cared to show him the deference that was his due or the respect that he perhaps deserved. The townspeople of mettle and mischief ridiculed him to their heart's content, those above him looked upon him as an amusing bore but fortune smiled on him and God blessed him and

### HE WAS THE HEADMASTER.

He lived in the solitudes of a rustic retreat, and his ill-ventilated, low-roofed 'sweet' home which was elaborately orna-

mented by an intricate net-work of spiders' webs, was taken care of more by fleas and mice than by himself. His drawing room which was also his bed-room boasted of a table, a few chairs, a cot, a coat-rack and departmental covers, no longer pregnant with their precious contents, flying about and a few old odd volumes on science or religion with some back numbers of certain monthly publications either propagandistic or professional to keep the former company. Order and arrangement had altogether failed to make any appreciable inroad on the dismal wealth of this domestic study. A few faithful satellites of this pedagogic plenipotentiary not unfrequently made futile attempts to lift the veil of the gloom of that desolate looking room. And some, indeed, occasionally paid him as an act of courtesy, a visit but these charitable gentlemen soon found themselves seated face to face with a sort of intellectual *cul-de-sac* and never missed the very first opportunity to bid farewell and beat a hasty retreat from what they considered a place instinct with the spirit of quaint fogeyism. The power-weilding pedagogue, was, however, only glad to be rid of such intruders into the stillness of his somewhat bashful existence.

#### SUCH WAS THE HEADMASTER IN HIS ROOM.

But what about the headmaster himself? Indeed Nature had not grudged him his pair of legs and hands and eyes but these limbs, by some curious irony of fate, seemed not the natural parts that they were, of the body so much as some troublesome appendages glued on to his person to his perpetual discomfort. Yes, even his two little eyes looked so artificial! What, then, was the headmaster?—You may ask me. It is easily asked but not so easily answered, for, none can say what exactly it was that made him. He was not all trunk, surely not; he was not all neck, or all head either. Rather was he a patchwork made up of a big head with but few oases of hair of mingled white and dark, two little eyes that never looked but spied, a short thick neck which instead of joining like an isthmus two disjointed parts, gummed one big block with another equally big, presenting thus a remarkable evenness of relief, a huge trunk, a giant's

perhaps, which was as sound as an iron-safe and two little legs which evidently had been originally designed for a dwarf and which were hardly strong enough to carry the heavy superstructure above, that not unoften lost its balance and reeled and rocked on them. You would never believe that he ever was a baby or that he ever grew from any small beginnings to the present disproportionate dimensions. You would, on the other hand, say, if you saw him, that nature made the several parts, one after another and put them together and in one of her freakish moments, breathing the spark of life into the conjoint frame, hailed him as "The Headmaster".

What about his mind? is probably your next inquiry. Well I can assure you even at the outset that it had none of the angularities and appurtenances of the physiological curiosity which he so lovingly claimed to be his sacred person and which we have been trying to study in the above para. It was one homogeneous, symmetrical block, a regular geometrical solid of "I know it; I know it" and its equivalents and tense-conjugations to suit the varying circumstances of this changing world. His was an egoism which knew no checks, no retreats or half measures. He always flew on the wings of wisdom. What he hated most was other persons' poking their noses into the high affairs of the little kingdom of which he was the Lord's Anointed, the great Czar. The *sanctum sanctorum* within which he had enthroned his Ego with all the splendour and sanctity that his imagination could lend was surely an imposing Cathedral and he was determined to keep its purity and position from association of whatever kind with other I's which were so small in comparison with his own.

There are two kinds of selves in this world. They are:— (1) the sly, the peaceful and the retiring; (2) the aggressive and the militant. Our little egoistic autocrat had the honour to belong to the first class. He fought shy of men and things. He was company enough for him. He had sedulously cultivated a horror of society in his solicitude for his self. He durst not mingle with others lest he should lose his individuality. How he wished that he were left to himself! How he wished that he could always contemplate on the high attributes of his "I" and

remain for hours together in a self-glorifying Samadhi. He never cared a fig to stand in the lime-light of public fame. He would hatch his plans in darkness and carry them out on the sly. He never looked a man in the face and he never brooked other persons looking him in the face. All that he did and did not do, had the appearance of shyness bordering on stealthiness. Was he wont to steal even his evening walks?

Men multiply but not names ; at any rate not so fast as men. There seems to be, therefore, little danger in divulging the headmaster's name. Mr. A. R. Das is one of the brightest gems in all Hindu nomenclature and the university had generously lent him the services of the M. A. Degree which never failed to do duty as a faithful aid-de-camp. Indeed, Mr. Das had had no existence apart from this invaluable endowment of his university.

A. R. Das, Esq., M.A., the Headmaster, had a virtue which his enemies maliciously considered a vice. It was his inherited partiality for all forms of overdone punctuality. He was never known to have been late for once in his life. He was too early everywhere and for everything which habit of his he defined as "erring on the safe side". Unlike others of his ilk he never had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of invincible time. On the day he became the headmaster he went to school at 9-30 A.M. sharp. On the succeeding day, 'erring on the safe side' he was in his *literary realm* at 9-25 A.M. sharp. After erring in this way for a couple of weeks or so he found himself, one day, bulging big in the headmaster's chair, when cocks were crowing, birds were singing and the dawn was breaking. He did not know how adequately to congratulate himself. He had always been nibbling at time not with any remarkable degree of success. But this day, his victory was complete even beyond the most sanguine expectations. He had appropriated to himself, as a result of it, four full long hours and a half ; a priceless acquisition ! And how could he spend it better or more nobly than by immovably sitting in his cosy chair musing and enjoying and exulting.

Mr. Das's morning march to school was acknowledged on all hands, to be quite an entertaining performance. He always issued out of his bunk any time between 5-30 and 9-30 looking

so spick and span with his trimmed moustache, steady head, light-fitting coat fully buttoned up, and his legs—two short stout pillars in trousers and boots—mechanically and regularly moving on like an auto-car. He had on such occasions his liveried and belted knight of a peon with a regulation turban following in the foot-steps of his master to protect him from any mischievous rear attacks. On days when the wind was strong the solicitous master placed his heavy officer's box on the shoulders of his faithful servant lest his starveling frame should be taken off his feet and shot into the air like a rocket. They walked straight, like horses in blinkers. Mr. Das ostrich-like fancied that the towns folk could not see him as he did not see them. But these inquisitive and prying people wondered how the wonderful pedagogue walked and was the headmaster at the same time!

Thus it was that every day he proceeded in state to his throne. Then would he seat himself plumb down on it and look about him most complacently before the regal duties of the day began. He usually opened the proceedings with a rapid bombardment of his assistants with scraps of paper conveying his pedagogic majesty's pleasures. Generally this opening of fire continued through the live-long day with unabated obstinacy. For, it must be remembered, that he was one who, after a long and toilsome experience extending over more than a quarter of a century had come to the mellow conclusion that there was nothing so good or so necessary in the school-world as orders and instructions judiciously designed and promulgated. The successful headmaster was an extempore legislator. But the curious feature about our law-giving headmaster was that his laws had laws and laws only as their sanctions. Let me give an example. Suppose that his clairvoyant mind suspected that a particular enactment of his was not enforced—he seldom took the least trouble to see personally whether his laws worked or how they worked—he immediately issued another commanding the enforcement of the neglected law. Suppose that such a course provoked, as was not unlikely, more ridicule than respect, there came another enactment with all the fury of official red-tape which the infuriated Manu could command. Thus laws increased with

incredible fecundity while poor order and discipline were being throttled to death. No wonder that the school soon became the wallowing pool of lawful lawlessness.

Gladly would he fill up all his time by such legislative activities for which he had an inexhaustible and innate fondness. But, woe to him, sometimes several obstinate questionings made themselves heard in his heart to incommode his quiet satisfaction. "Are rules and regulations, commandments and codes enough to make a headmaster?" Should he not also be a canestick to boys, a finder of faults and a writer of remarks? Should he not be all eyes and ears too, watch and listen and waste much clean paper in the log-book with observations on those who teach that Rome was built in a day or on those who are not submerged in a brawling sense of duty. And something in some corner of his spacious personality murmured audibly, unmistakably "yes, he should, he should, and thousand and one things besides." At this he felt like Gautama after his unexpected enlightenment and was for a time lost in a self-glorifying field of thought. Anon, he rises from his chair of state and scratching his head and making sure that his moustache has not been stolen away, issues out, like Pussy in search of mice, after idlers, howlers, brow-beaters, mischief-makers, late comers, "loiterers on the flowery path of knowledge" and such other juvenile delinquents, and being quite sure, aye, cock sure, that none out of his one thousand and five hundred wards could fail to be one or other of these innumerable varieties of little humanity, does not stop to take the trouble of picking and choosing his captives. He goes west and presently returns with two Lilliputian prisoners of war, leading them in triumph by their ears that just begin to sprout. He goes north and another pair of unfortunates come half walking, half dangling down from his unyielding tentacles. Nor is this all; there is the flourish of the dreaded cane; thump, thump, goes the little heart, twang, twang resounds on that little out-stretched trembling hand that fearfully flexible instrument of torture. "Twang, twang" and "take that" and "take that" follow in quick succession, and one after another the puny culprits who know not their crime shamble out of the fearful presence with their smarting hands between their thighs.

## II

There was little time between the closing of this act and the commencement of the next. The scene is behind the screen that marks off a class room. Close behind it is the figure of one who is playing the spy half timidly, half shyly. He stands bandy-legged lest his head with its high turban should be seen above the screen. He wields in his hands a pen ready to write and a small note-book ready to be written upon. His posture clearly indicates that he is listening intently. All is silent within, reither noise nor voice. A dropping pin will make the sound of a falling tree in that dead stillness, but there are no pins dropping. He listens,—yes, to a voice in the world of sounds. He asks himself, “have I become stone-deaf all at once?” No, he has not, for his ears catch echoes from afar. Presently he writes down “15/8/’187. I listened to Mr. so and so’s teaching for fifteen minutes. It was a practical demonstration of the uses of deep and prolonged sleep.”

Proud of having collected evidence to be used in times of need and wisely letting sleeping dogs lie, he hies away as noiselessly as an apparition to another distant Province of his empire to spy out the misdeeds of its Subahdar. Here he has a high and strong wall to hide his purposes and at the same time to protect his tumble-down person. He leans against it comfortably with pen and note book ready for action and listens. The provincial Government within smells, how we do not know, a rat without. The scent of espionage is wafted on to him. He sees the leaning pen-holding, note-book-opening important-looking wistfully-listening suspicious monarch clearly in his mind’s eye. A spirit of defiance rises within him. He gathers strength for a coup-de-main. He was doing William the Conqueror and the Battle of Hastings. He jerks in the rein and pulls up. There is silence for a while. Then he spurs on his steed thus, “The Norman Duke collected a large army and invaded England; he did not care who listened leaning against a wall. He fought a great battle at Hastings and won, yes he did, in spite of brave Harold’s heroism, in spite of a headmaster standing in the lee of a wall and striking so hard at his foe with his mighty pen.”

The whole class burst into a thunderous laughter. The crest-fallen luck-less spy winces and trembles. His pen spasmodically scribbles and spasmodically scores out, "Mr.....is insubordinate,..... and insulted....." for he evidently feels that his remarks reflected more on himself than on his elusive adversary. He puts the note-book in his pocket thus illustrating *his pocketing the insult* with a vividness truly worthy of a heaven-born *headmaster*. Then he slinks away.

But Mr. Das was no faineant and was not a bit wiser for this bitter experience. Ere long, therefore, the sly-books sallied forth again on another of his fault-finding missions. An eagle-eyed assistant espied him coming from a distance. His colleagues knew him to be one who could create very nice situations. As the headmaster was passing alongside of his class room, the high-spirited humourist thinking that the time was opportune to draw an unusually heavy cheque upon his bank of stored up wealth of mischief, dropped down the thread of the lesson on hand and addressed his facile audience very vociferously with the following questions, "What is an ogre? Have you ever seen a centaur?" The boys opened their little mouths wondering what those stray shots could mean. Mr. Das, happily had too obtuse an intellect to see these wayside subtleties and passed on like his pet pussy quite satisfied that the teacher concerned was doing his duty well.

The superintending missionary soon came upon another scene wherein he showed himself at his best. Another noteworthy potentate of the teaching tribe—one who had more resemblances with his boss than anybody else—was setting his students an interesting problem in an interesting attitude. With head and trunk thrown backwards and legs forwards, short of passing to the other side of the limits of perfect recovery, he was standing like the Leaning Tower of Pisa, carefully looking at his watch and repeating at short intervals the following enquiry to the array of juvenile philosophers before him: "my watch has stopped, it usually does, in fine weather; why?" Mr. Das heard and understood. For once in his life he determined to come into the openness. He therefore boldly entered the class and eyed—he did—the worthy gentleman. Grinning from ear

to ear that sedate school master said, "yes, I want to know it, yes, I do." "Indeed!" replied Mr. Das and immediately left the room conscious of having cracked a joke and found his match in the world.

N. K. VENKIDI.

## THE VILLAGE DEITIES OF NORTHERN BENGAL.

The eminent anthropologist Sir Herbert Risley has very truly said: "Within the enormous range of beliefs and practices which are included within the term Hinduism, there are comprised entirely different sets of ideas, or, one may say, widely different conceptions of the world and of life. At one end, at the lower end of the series, is Animism, an essentially materialistic theory of things which seeks, by means of magic, to ward off or to forestall physical disasters, which looks no further than the world of sense, and seeks to make that as tolerable as the conditions will permit. At the other end is Pantheism combined with a system of transcendental metaphysics."\*

If we examine the religious beliefs and practices of the Hindu population of a village in Northern India, we find that these may be grouped together in a scale, at the lower end of which are the worship and propitiation of the village deities—those godlings and lesser female divinities or the goddesslings of whom the names even are not mentioned in the orthodox works on Hindu Mythology. These are known in the vernaculars as the "*grama-devatas*". While at the higher end of this scale is the worship of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva—the three members of the Hindu Trinity—and of their various incarnations.

Now, the worship of the village deities or "*grama-devatas*" is the outcome of the animistic ideas of that village-community; whereas the adoration and propitiation of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva represent their pantheistic beliefs and ideas.

The worship and propitiation of the village deities differ mainly from those of the orthodox divinities of the Hindu Pantheon in the four undernoted respects:—

- (1) The village deities of Northern India have no temples or regularly constructed shrines for their local habitation. They are very often worshipped or

prayed to on slightly elevated open spaces outside the village, or in other out-of-the-way places. [This is also the case with the worship of the village deities in Southern India, as will appear from the following remarks of Bishop Whitehead of Madras :—“As a rule, the shrine of the village deity is far less imposing than the Brahmanical temples in the neighbourhood; very often it is nothing more than a small enclosure with a few rough stones in the centre; and often there is no shrine at all’’.]\*

- (2) The priest or sacerdotal functionary, who officiates at the worship of a village deity in Northern India, is non-Brahman. He is, more often than not, a member of the community of the votaries of that deity. [This is also the case in Southern India, as is testified to by the following observations of Bishop Whitehead of Madras: “The Pujaris, *i.e.*, the men who perform and officiate as priests, are not Brahmins, but are drawn from all the other castes.”]†
- (3) The village deities of Northern India are either male or female. [But those of Southern India are almost females. With respect to this, Bishop Whitehead says: “The village deities, with very few exceptions, are female. In the Tamil country, it is true, almost all the village goddesses have male attendants, who are supposed to guard the shrine and carry out the commands of the goddesses; and one male deity, Iyenarr, has a shrine to himself, and is regarded as the night watchman of the village. In the Telugu country, too, there is a being called Potu-Razu, who figures, sometimes, as the brother and, sometimes, as the husband of village goddesses, and, sometimes, as

\**The Village Deities of Southern India* (Madras Museum Bulletin, Vol. V., No. 3).  
Page 107.

†*Op. cit.*, page 109.

an attendant. But with the exception of Iyenarr, and one or two other deities, all the male deities are so distinctly subordinate to the goddesses that they do not contravene the general principle that village deities are female and not male.”]\*

(4) The sacrifices offered to the village deities of Northern India are either animal or non-animal. The non-animal sacrifices include the offering of unboiled rice, fruits, flowers and various kinds of sweet-stuffs. [But, in Southern India, the village deities demand oblations of blood which necessitate the slaughter of animals. *Anent* this, Dr. Whitehead observes : “The village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices. Buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs and fowls are freely offered to them, sometimes in thousands. In the Tamil country, as I shall describe later, this custom is curiously modified by the influence of Brahmanism which has imbued the villagers with the idea that the shedding of blood is low and irreligious ; and it is to be remarked that no animal sacrifices are ever offered to Iyenarr. Madurai-Viran accepts them eagerly and takes toddy and cheeroots into the bargain ; but Iyenarr is regarded as far too good a being to be pleased by the sight of blood-shed.”]†

It is now almost unanimously held by anthropologists that the original inhabitants or the non-Aryans of India, who are now represented by the Dravidian races and peoples of this country, had for their cult a system of beliefs and practices which modern ethnographers have designated with the name of Animism.

The Aryan settlers, who occupied those tracts of Northern India which now bear the names of the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, and those portions of Western India which are now included in the Bombay Presidency, were, to some

\**Op. cit.*, page 109.

†*Op. cit.*, page 109.

extent, modified by intermingling with the Dravidian folk, and by the assimilation of Dravidian ideas, beliefs and practices. All this is verified by their physical characteristics which, thanks to the results of anthropometric measurements, have furnished data for their classification into three distinct ethnic types.

Looking from the standpoint of these anthropometric measurements, the present inhabitants of the United Provinces and Bihar belong to the Aryo-Dravidian type; the people of Bengal and Orissa to the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type; and the Marhattas, the Kunbis and the Coorgs of the Bombay Presidency to the Scytho-Dravidian type.

Now, on account of the assimilation of non-Aryan, aboriginal or Dravidian ideas, beliefs and practices by the Hindu population of Northern India, they still retain an animistic substratum in their religious beliefs and practices, the outcome of which is seen in their worship and propitiation of the village deities or the "*grama-devatas*".

It is, by reason of the existence of this animistic substratum in their religious beliefs and practices, that the Hindu villagers of Northern India believe that they are always haunted by "a ghostly company of powers, elements, tendencies, mostly impersonal in their character, shapeless phantasms of which no image can be made and no definite idea can be framed."

Each of these "powers, elements and tendencies" has definite and distinct functions of his or her own to perform. For instance, one of these has control over cholera; a second over small-pox; and a third has in his charge the spreading and the averting of cattle-diseases.

Some of them have also peculiar habitats. A few of them live in rocks; some dwell in trees; while others frequent rivers, whirlpools, water-falls or out-of-the-way pools.

They further believe that this "ghostly company of powers, elements and tendencies" have the power to inflict on them the various ills and calamities that the human flesh is heir to. Therefore it is their incumbent duty to propitiate them; to keep them in good humour, by the presentation of offerings, and by the performance of sacrifices that may be most suitable to their tastes and proclivities. In many cases, plots of communal lands

in the villages have been specially set apart for furnishing the wherewithal to defray the costs of these offerings and sacrifices.

[The Hindu villagers in Southern India, who are mainly Dravidians, entertain the same kinds of animistic beliefs and perform the same sort of propitiatory rites and ceremonies, as will appear from the following observations of Dr. Whitehead : "Speaking generally, the object of the festival (in honor of the village-deity) is simply to propitiate the goddess and to avert epidemics and other calamities from the village, and to ward off the attacks of evil spirits. Every village in South India is believed by the people to be surrounded by evil spirits, who are always on the watch to inflict diseases and misfortunes of all kinds on the unhappy villagers. They lurk everywhere, on the tops of palmyra trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms. They fly about in the air, like birds of prey, ready to pounce down upon any unprotected victim, and the Indian villagers pass through life in constant dread of these invisible enemies. So they turn for protection to the guardian deities of their villages, whose function it is to ward off these evil spirits and protect the village from epidemics of cholera, small-pox or fevers, from cattle diseases, failure of crops, childlessness, fires and all the manifold ills that flesh is heir to in an Indian village.]\*

Having made the preceding remarks on the general features of the worship of village-deities in Northern (as also in Southern) India, I shall now illustrate them by reference to the worship of the same deities in Northern Bengal.

Take, for instance, the district of Dinajpore in Northern Bengal. We find that, in some parts of this district, and more especially in the western part of the Sadar Sub-Division thereof, the agriculturists worship a deity named *Maharaja*. They do not know him by any other name than this, and say that he is "the king of ghosts and demons" (that is to say, of the *bhutas* and the *pretas*). [Most likely, the name of this deity is not mentioned in any of the *Shastric* works.]

The worship of this deity is generally performed in the Bengali months of Kartik (October-November), Agra-hayan

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\**Op. cit.*, pp. 126-127.

(November-December) or Paush (December-January), either before the reaping of the ripened paddy-crops has begun, or after the harvesting of the same has been finished. [Occasionally, this *puja-festival* is celebrated *at other times of the year*. This is done whenever epidemics of cholera and small-pox break out. This *puja* is known as the *Baher Puja* or “the untimely worship”.] A Tuesday or a Saturday is the most suitable date for its performance.

The agriculturists collect subscriptions from among themselves, and, when a sufficient amount has been collected, defray with the same the expenses of this worship by which they express their gratitude to this deity. They believe that, by the mercy of this deity, they obtain timely rains for irrigating their fields and get the food-crops with which they maintain themselves and their families. This worship is performed in every village in the aforementioned localities of the district of Dinajpore.

There is no regularly-constructed temple wherein this deity has his local habitation. But he has a *dham* or shrine on an elevated and open space in every village.

One interesting peculiarity of the worship of this deity is that no Brahmans act as priests therein, but that one of the agriculturists themselves, who is known by the designation of a *dhami* or *shebait*, officiates as the priest and performs the functions of worship. It is for this reason that the *mantras* or the prayer-formulæ recited in the worship of this village-deity are not in Sanskrit, but in the local Bengali dialect.

In the afternoon of the day fixed for the worship, all the villagers, both men and women, the old and the young, rigged out in washed and clean clothing, go to the deity's *dham* or shrine. [If this *puja-festival* is held after the reaping of the ripened paddy-crops has commenced, it is stringently prescribed that no kind of agricultural work should be performed on the day of worship.]

The *puja* is commenced at 4 p.m. in the afternoon or, sometimes, a little earlier than that.

The *dhami* or *shebait*, though he is a non-Brahman, comes and performs the ceremony of endowing the image or a symbol

of the deity Maharaja with life. This is known, in the local Bengali *patois*, as the *Basana* ceremony. There is a curious *mantra* or prayer-formula recited during the performance of this ceremony, of which the English translation will be given and discussed later on.

First of all, the deity Maharaja is worshipped and prayed to. Therefore, his attendant godlings and goddesses, whose respective names and functions I shall mention and describe later on, are worshipped and sacrificed to.

After the *puja* of all these deities has been finished, all the votaries take the *prasad* or small portions of the food-offerings presented to the former, and then accept from the *dhami*, as a token of the deity Maharaja's blessing, a handful of unboiled rice. Thereafter they go back to their respective homes.

As an accompaniment to the holding of this *puja-festival*, a good deal of drum-beating, the ringing of bells, and the sounding of gongs take place. In addition to the abovementioned instrumental music, a party of *kirtan*-singers sings before the assembled votaries for the latter's entertainment.

Along with the worship of the super-deity Maharaja, his attendant or satellite godlings and goddesslings are also prayed to and sacrificed to. Each of these latter has a separate altar (*sthān* or *vedi*) allotted to him or her in the super-deity's *dham* or shrine.

Along with the worship of the super-deity Maharaja, another deity named Mahipala is worshipped. But it is not stated whether or not he is subordinate to Maharaja. If this deity be the famous Raja Mahipala (of the Pala Dynasty) of Dinajpore, we may safely conclude that the people of Northern Bengal have now, after the lapse of so many centuries, raised him to the hierarchy of gods out of gratitude for his goodness and benevolence. Compare this apotheosis of Raja Mahipala with the deification of the Marhatta chieftain Sivaji.

The duty of these satellite deities is to carry out the behests of, and to otherwise serve, their super-deity.

Some of these godlings and goddesslings are engaged in work

beneficial to humanity. They are three in number; and their names and functions are given below :—

- (1) The goddessling Mahashanti. Her duty is to look after the happiness and peace of mankind.
- (2) The goddess Lakshmi. She is the care-taker or warden of the granaries in which the harvested paddy is stored. She is also the giver of wealth and prosperity.
- (3) The godling *Kandi*. He is the protector of cattle and has also control over the diseases which afflict them.

The rest of the satellite deities are engaged in work which is detrimental or injurious to the human kind. They are six in number; and their respective names and functions are as follows :—

- (1) The godling Mahakal.
- (2) The goddess Kali. Both of these deities are engaged in the work of destruction.
- (3) The godling Hanuman. His function is to raise storms and tempests and, by means thereof, to destroy men's houses and huts. This function of Hanuman is also mentioned in the ancient Bengali poems about a *Mangalchandi*. It would appear that he has obtained this power of raising storms and tempests by reason of the fact that he is the son of the wind-god *Pavanadeva*.
- (4) The godling Mahavira. He visits men's houses during the night, and bites their bodies, by reason of which sores and boils are produced.
- (5) The goddessling Budi. She creates and spreads itches and pimples.
- (6) The goddessling Guti. Her function is to create and spread small-pox epidemics and, thereby, to kill men.

The super-deity *Maharaja*, the goddess as Lakshmi, the goddessling Mahashanti, and the godling Hanuman are vegetarians. For this reason, the *puja*-offerings to these deities consist of the following articles :—(1) unboiled rice;

(2) plantains; and (3) sugar-wafers and other kinds of sweet-stuffs.

The offerings presented to the godling Mahakal and the goddess Kali are a pair of pigeons or a goat for each of them.

The godling Kandi demands an offering of a bow and a few arrows; a little of *ganja*; and *huqqa* and a *chillum* for smoking the *ganja* with. [Compare him with South Indian village-deity Madurai-Viran who requires offerings of toddy and cheeroots.]

The remaining three satellite deities, namely, the godling Mahavira and the goddesslings Budi and Guti are fond of drinking blood. It is popularly believed that if anybody does anything which offends, and excites the wrath of, these blood-thirsty deities, they are sure to break their vengeance on him by drinking his blood.

I shall now describe and discuss the functions of the super-deity Maharaja, and the ritual connected with his worship.

(1) The first duty of this super-deity is to look after and do good to the agricultural operations and crops of his votaries. It is for this reason that, whenever there is drought, the agriculturists of the district of Dinajpore earnestly pray to, and perform the *puja* of, this deity for rain; and they believe that, after *puja* has been done, rain is sure to fall in copious showers.

It would further appear that this super-deity is represented, in Hindu art, as riding on an elephant and carrying a weapon in one of his hands. On account of the fact of his riding on an elephant and also by reason of his granting rain, it has been supposed by some persons that Maharaja is an incarnation of the Vedic god Indra. But, for reasons which I have stated in the beginning of this article, I am inclined to think that this supposition is groundless and wrong. I hold that the super-deity as Maharaja is an offshoot of the non-Aryan cult and is an embodiment—a personification—of some animistic power which presides over rain-fall and diseases.

(2) His second function is to take care of and preserve the health of his votaries.

Whenever an epidemic of cholera or of small-pox, or a cattle-murrain breaks out in the countryside, the agriculturists of Dinajpore make a vow to do *puja* to this deity; and they believe

that the performance of the worship is followed by the cessation of the epidemics.

(3) His third function is to protect the cattle of his worshippers.

Now, there are two undermentioned ways or methods of praying to and worshipping the super-deity *Maharaja* :—

- (a) The first method is for the villagers to go in a body to this deity's shrine and recite his name. This is known as *Namkirtan*.
- (b) The second method is to requisition the services of the *dhami* or *shebait* and get him to intercede with this deity on their behalf.

Whenever the second method of worship is adopted, the officiating priest, as I have already stated above, first of all, performs the *Basana* ceremony, that is to say, endows the image or symbol of the deity *Maharaja* with life. This is done by reciting a *mantra* or prayer-formula of which the English translation is as follows :—

- (1) (There is) a seat (made) of conch-shell. (There is) a shrine (made) of conch-shell. (There is) a throne (made) of conch-shell.
- (2) (O deities) *Maharaja* (and) *Mahashanti* ! (come and) take (your) seats in the shrine (made) of conch-shell.
- (3) O lords ! come, take (your) seats in the shrines, (and) take with (your) hands (our) *puja*-offerings.
- (4) O ! take the *puja*-offerings in (your) hands.

After the recital of this *mantra*, the *puja*-offerings are presented to the deity.

Then the *Labhan* or *Abhan* ceremony or the ceremony for invoking the deity is performed by reciting the *Labhan* prayer-formula of which the English translation is given below :—

- (1) First of all, (I) have prayed to the two deities (*lit.*, persons) the Moon and the Sun.
- (2) (I) have prayed to (the deities of) the three worlds (which lie) in all the four directions.

(3) and (4) (I) have adored (the deity) Maharaja's feet after concentrating (my) whole heart and soul (*lit.*, one mind and three lives).

(5), (6) and (7) (O deity) Maharaja! leave the heaven (and) come down (and) place (your) feet upon the platform. (After) coming down upon the platform, partake of the *puja*-offerings (*lit.*, *puja* and water) of (your) votaries.

(8) (O deities) Maharaja (and) Mahashanti! Your shrines are in every place.\*

(9), (10) and (11) (Your) votaries are invoking you by presenting (various kinds of) offerings. (O deity) Maharaja! Come riding upon the elephant. Bring with you all the deities.

(12), (13) and 14. The clouds are rumbling. There is stir and bustle (*lit.*, loud noise) in all four directions. All the deities of the north have rigged themselves out in finery (and) come.

(15) Just at this time, build a prison-house.

(16) Cross the seven seas and rivers (and go) to Lanka (or Ceylon).

(17) At intervals, there were great uproars and outbursts of hilarity†.

(18) (O deities) Maharaja (and) Mahashanti! this is (my) prayer for invoking you.

In the course of performing the *puja* of this super-deity, two other kinds of *mantras* or prayer-formulæ are recited. They are (a) *Dhian* or *Dhyan* and (b) *Shan* or *Shanti*.

The *Dhian* or *Dhyan* *mantra* would seem to be the principal prayer-formula which is recited in worshipping this deity, after the *Labhan* ceremony has been performed. [This is clearly

\*Note the similarity of this idea with that in the following lines of Pope's *The Universal Prayer* :—

“To Thee, whose temple is all space,  
Whose altar earth, sea, skies,  
One chorus let all beings raise,  
All nature's incense rise,”

†I am unable to make out what connection the lines 15, 16 and 17 have with the content of this prayer formula.

indicated by line 2 of the following *mantra*]. Its English translation is as follows :—

- (1) (There is) a golden shrine ; (there is) a golden bedstead ; (there is) a golden throne.
- (2) (I) have begun to contemplate (about you), after having seated you, O Maharaja ! upon the golden seat.
- (3) and (4) O Lord ! by your mercy, we get rain-water.  
O Lord ! by your mercy, (our) crops are produced.
- (5) and (6) O Lord ! by your mercy, (all) creatures live in happiness. If you are favourably disposed (towards us), all kinds of diseases disappear (from our country-side).
- (7) and (8) (O deity Maharaja) ! what shall (I) give you for *puja*-offering ?
- (9) and (10) Shall (I) give (you) rice for *puja*-offering.  
But the rice has been made impure, as the cow has touched it with her mouth.
- (11) Shall (I) give (you) milk for *puja*-offering ? But the milk has been made impure, as the calf has touched it with its mouth.
- (12) (I) have got nothing. (O deity) Maharaja ! what shall (I) give (you) for *puja*-offering ?
- (13) (I) shall worship you with flowers (and holy) water.  
(O deity !) come (and) take (my) *puja*-offerings.

The *Shan* or *Shanti* *mantra* would appear to be recited at the finale of the worship and before the distribution of the food-offerings to the votaries takes place. As its name indicates, the object of this prayer-formula is to pray to the deity, imploring him to confer the blessings of peace and happiness upon his votaries. The English translation of this *mantra* is given below :—

- (1) O peace ! come. May there be peace (to all the worshippers). May (the deities) Maharaja (and) Mahashanti be propitious (to their votaries).
- (2) and (3) (O) Maharaja ! (O) Mahashanti ! may you

be propitious (to your votaries). (O !) satisfy (your) minds by partaking of the *puja*-offerings.

(4) We are foolish men. (We) do not know your omnipotence.

(5) (O) Maharaja ! pardon all (our) faults and be propitious (to us).

(6) and (7) If (our) villages remain immune from all kinds of calamities, (we) shall worship you through all times. If the rain-fall be good, (and) if there be bumper crops, (we) shall remember your name gratefully.

(8) (O deities) Maharaja (and) Mahashanti ! May you be favourably disposed (towards us).

(9) and (10) O Mahashanti ! Keep the ghosts and spooks, the demons and the devils tied by your side, (and) depute Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth and prosperity) to dwell in every house.

(11) and (12) O Maharaja ! if (you) do not grant our prayers, nobody will recite your name. (O Maharaja !) may you be propitious (to us).\*

If we carefully examine the functions performed by the super-deity Maharaja's satellite deities, we will find that these godlings and goddesslings are no other than the embodiments—the personifications—of those impersonal “powers, elements and tendencies” which are believed by the villagers of the district of Dinajpore in Northern Bengal to preside over drought, diseases, cattle-murrain and various other calamities which afflict them. These village deities are mere offshoots of the animistic substratum which still forms part and parcel of their religious beliefs and practices.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA

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\*For a good deal of information about the worship of the village deities of Dinajpor, I am indebted to an article which appeared on pages 29-32 of the Bengali monthly magazine *Probashi* for Kartik 1328 B. S. (October-November 1921.)

## THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

### ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

The latter part of the last year was full of sensations. The Prince was to arrive in India as an ambassador of peace but Mr. Gandhi proclaimed the now-discredited boycott. The Prince did arrive and the day of his arrival in this country was marked by an unprecedented riot which disgraced Bombay and showed the author of the Non-Co-operation a sample of his Swaraj which "stank into his nostrils". Business in Calcutta stopped and all public activities paralysed and Government in a frightful panic instead of allowing the agitation to fail by virtue of its inherent absurdity as was done by Lord Chelmsford resolved to strike and strike hard. What did they do? Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was practically under a sentence of death was applied to in Bengal and some other provinces and the Congress and Khilafat Volunteers were declared illegal. The Mahatma whose influence had been steadily declining among the intelligentsia of the people due to the utter failure of his impracticable and impossible programme, got a very good opportunity to create a sensation and postpone his Swaraj for an indefinite period. Some of the more vocal followers of the Mahatma particularly those hailing from Maharashtra, were thinking of opposing him at the Ahmedabad Congress and in order to crystallise their views they met in session at Akola. There were signs which showed that there would be serious differences of opinion in the Congress camp and people thought that there was bound to be a rupture resulting in the break-up of the Congress. Though there were anxious days for people to face, they hoped for a bright new year after the Ahmedabad show. But the hasty action of Government in disbanding the volunteers added fuel to the dying fire and Mr. Gandhi once again created a huge sensation. The Liberals thought that their action was a bit early and they could have stayed their hands for another month by which time the movement would have been completely discredited. But things

took another turn and Mr. Gandhi issued his edict to challenge Government. This was followed by "indiscriminate arrests" which gave rise to indignation in all quarters both friendly and opposed to Government. The Liberals decided that it was no use supporting Government at this juncture since the very right of association was disturbed. A wave of indignation passed throughout the country. Emergency measures such as the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act were applied to in some of the Provinces. The result was that the people in order to defy Government enrolled themselves as volunteers in large numbers and willingly went to jail. The situation became very critical and Government did not know what to do.

At this critical juncture, the Fourth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India met at Allahabad on the 28th December. The United Provinces was particularly affected by the new policy of Government, culminating in the arrests of men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Babu Bhagavandas and other prominent non-co-operators. The local liberals strongly protested against this policy and it was certain that they would muster strong at the Conference and express their indignation over these arrests. Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, the Chairman of the Reception Committee after welcoming the delegates to his city which he said was "the symbol of an ancient civilisation" briefly touched upon the Royal visit and deeply regretted that the visit of the heir-apparent to the throne who should have been treated as above politics should have roused fierce passions and been the subject of an acute controversy. He admitted that the volunteers have been at times instruments of political and social tyranny and after sympathising with Government in their difficult predicament of keeping peace and order, the speaker condemned in scathing terms the present policy of Government and particularly that of the Government of the United Provinces. The speaker asked whether that policy served the end in view. Continuing he said "they (the Government measures) have hastened the advent of civil disobedience, which according to Mr. Gandhi, is to be resorted to purely as a protest against the disbandment of volunteers. The provinces where the authority of Government is most respected are not those which are

taking vigorous action, but those which have followed a policy of inactivity, such as Bombay and the Central Provinces". The Pandit was of opinion that nothing but a change of policy would ease the situation. He told the Viceroy that a policy of wholesale arrests and prosecutions would not receive the support of any section of Indian opinion. The speaker referred to the Punjab and demanded that her self-respect should be vindicated. He had a word to say about the revision of the Turkish Treaty which he said was essential for placating reasonable Moslem opinion. With regard to further reforms in the government of the country, the Pandit pleaded for full Provincial Autonomy as dyarchy failed to give satisfaction and partial responsibility in the Central Government.

Dewan Bahadur Govindraghava Iyer, the President of the Federation, who is a veteran amongst our public workers then delivered his presidential address. The major portion of the speech was devoted to the discussion of the Non-Co-operation programme and the Dewan Bahadur lucidly pointed out that almost each and every item of the programme had failed and they were where they had been a year ago. It was really a masterly exposition of the hollowness of the Non-Co-operation movement and he pointed out "that instead of developing self-discipline and self-restraint and love and soul force they (the results) are bound to evoke and encourage some of the worst passions that lie dormant in the human heart. This contingency may not be so much due to the principles underlying the movement in the abstract as to the practical application of them in the present condition of the country and her people". After telling his audience that the Congress ideal did not convey exactly what their goal was, the speaker declared that he stood for full Dominion status which they should all strive for. Dealing with the question of constitutional advance, the president suggested what in his view was the direction it should take. He urged full financial control for the popular representatives in the Provincial and Central Legislatures. This can hardly be secured without the concession of complete responsible government, for the Legislatures can bend the Executive to their will by their control over the purse. And that is the crux of the whole situation. When once the peoples'

representatives get the upper hand in matters of finance, there will be a real Swaraj. The speaker emphatically condemned the misuse of the various sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and strongly criticised the Government for using extraordinary laws and expressed the view that "the best course to be adopted would appear to be to trust to the ordinary law of the land and not to invoke any extraordinary power that may be taken under the ordinary law", from which view, his fellow Liberals would not dissent. The Khilafat and the Punjab also received his attention and nothing short of full justice would, in his opinion, satisfy Indian people.

After the presidential address was over, resolutions were taken up for discussion. Two resolutions on the deaths of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholker and Sir Rash Behari Ghose, both ex-Presidents of the Congress, and a third according a most loyal welcome to the Prince of Wales were moved from the chair and carried. Mr. B. S. Kamat, a member of the Legislative Assembly and the President of the Deccan Liberal Party moved the first resolution in regard to Indianisation of the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army by starting with an initial recruitment of 25% of the annual vacancies and raising such recruitment by an annual increment of not less than 5%. It will be remembered that a resolution of a similar nature has been passed in the Legislative Assembly and accepted by Government at its last session and the Conference only gave its support in order that the Government machine should move quickly. There were people in the Subjects Committee who wanted to raise it to 50% and even more but Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's explanation that it would not be possible to train so many officers in such a short time had the desired effect and the original resolution was retained. Mr. Kamat in moving the resolution made a surprisingly good speech in which he emphasised the importance of the resolution and declared that in a great measure full Responsible Government or Dominion Home Rule depended on their ability to defend themselves against foreign aggression. He was of opinion that unless they obtained all the facilities of military training at the hands of the Government of India, all their talk of Swaraj was nothing but a camouflage. Among the supporters of this resolution was our

revered countryman Sir Krishna Gupta who as a member of the Esher Committee did very valuable work on behalf of this country. To him this question of military training of Indians had been all-important for many years and ever since he had taken any part in politics in this country, he had pressed this question before anything else. "India" said the speaker, "is not an isolated country. In the old days, perhaps, you may have said that the sea is on three sides protecting India and the mighty Himalayas on the other side. But, of course, the old days were wholly safe from incursion from the sea side. But now the sea is open to the world. And even the mighty barriers of the Himalayas could not resist invasion from outside. Swaraj without any means of defence means nothing and, therefore, if the British Government is really sincere in their professions to give Swaraj they must be prepared to give every facility possible to Indianise the Army".

Civil Disobedience formed the second main resolution on the Federation plank and Sir Sivaswamy Iyer's vigorous speech exposing the fallacies of this revolutionary doctrine was heard with rapt attention. The Conference was of opinion that Civil Disobedience was fraught with the gravest danger to the real interests of the country and was bound to cause untold suffering and misery to the people. It earnestly appealed to the country to reject it. There were only two courses left to the people by which they could attain Swaraj—either through Parliament and the British people or by recourse to revolutionary methods—and the speaker was convinced that it was possible for them to attain Swaraj by proceeding on strictly constitutional lines. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas in seconding the resolution made a fighting speech. He pointed out how Mr. Gandhi was opposed to any form of government and would have no outer authority at all because he believed that in every man there was God who must decide for him the course of action in regard to every problem that presented itself to him in the course of his life. To this the speaker had not the slightest objection but he did object when "that theory was being preached to the masses who were far from having reached that stage of evolution". After referring to the terrible riots of Bombay in all its nakedness, Mr.

Jamnadas warned his countrymen not to tread a wrong path and concluded his speech by appealing to them to follow a constitutional path which alone would lead to responsible government without any bloodshed. It was a remarkable thing that a *Kisan* supported the resolution in a neat Hindi speech thus showing the large gathering that the mass mind was sound and any attempt to sow the seeds of disaffection was doomed to fail.

The next resolution demanded further constitutional reforms. Full Provincial Autonomy at the end of the first term and dyarchy in the Central Government were the principal demands. Sir Sivaswamy Iyer who was in charge of the resolution made the demand not in a parrot-like fashion of the new school of political thought—inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing—but he based his demand on the experience gained during the last year which showed them that further reforms were absolutely necessary. The demand was put forward already by the Moderate Deputation who appeared before the Joint Committee of Parliament and it was only repeated. The capacity of the representatives in the Councils, their sense of responsibility coupled with their experience during the last year made them strengthen their demand for full provincial autonomy at the end of the first term. As regards the Central Government, the speaker asked that all subjects except the special subject of defence, foreign affairs, relations with the Indian States and ecclesiastical affairs, should be transferred to popular control. Another speaker argued that if the Rajasaheb of Mahmudabad could manage the Department of Police efficiently and well as a member of the Executive Council, there was no reason why he should not do the same as Minister. The resolution was enthusiastically carried.

The next and the most important resolution on which the eyes of the Nation were cast was with reference to the present political situation. On this question there was a strong difference of opinion between the delegates of the various provinces. While United Provinces was strongly in favour of condemning government wholesale, the Bengal delegates were determined to support them. Mrs. Besant while recognising the need of conciliation, was for support to Government in this

supreme crisis. The matter was hotly discussed in the Subjects Committee and somehow a compromise was arrived at, at the last moment. The resolution while realising the difficulties of Government in dealing with the critical situation, the inevitable dangers to the country of a campaign of Civil Disobedience and the necessity for the protection of peaceful and law-abiding citizens against any interference with their liberties recognised the duty of all patriotic citizens to support Government in all reasonable measures but took strong objections to the present policy of Government and was of opinion that the policy would defeat the object in view. It urged on the Government the immediate reconsideration of its policy in order to ease the situation. It further urged the repeal of all the repressive laws which were responsible for the present state of things. Mr. G. A. Natesan from Madras, in moving the resolution surveyed the political situation leading to Civil Disobedience which would enable the son to revolt against his father, brother against his brother and the servant against his master. It was more or less a revolt not only against the authority of Government but against law and order. While realising the necessity for the protection of law-abiding and peaceful citizens, he declared that it was quite a mistake on the part of the authorities to have decided on introducing Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which policy defeated the object Government had in view. The situation became complex and the speaker asked Government to reconsider their policy and ease the situation. There was a long and weary debate on this resolution, Mrs. Besant making out a strong case in favour of supporting the Government. She gave a vivid picture of chaos in Russia, the tyranny of the minorities witnessed in Calcutta on 17th November, and especially the Bombay riots which perfectly justified the use of the strong hand of repression. But she thought the action of Government was not polite. "I would rather" added Mrs. Besant, "that the Government has held its hand as it did for two years until the 31st of December, because then everyone would have said to Mr. Gandhi 'you promised us Swaraj by 31st December, give it to us as you promised'. And the result of it would have been he would have been discredited". Other speeches were made some strong and

some mild and the resolution was carried. After some more resolutions were moved from the chair, the President made his concluding speech which was inspiring. It was his firm conviction that Civil Disobedience would lead to violence and he warned his countrymen to be away from that doctrine.

The Conference met at a time of crisis when men's heads were full of excitement and passion. It did creditable work keeping the interests of the country before its eyes all the time. While emphatically declaring their conviction against the revolutionary doctrine of Civil Disobedience, the delegates assembled were not afraid of disapproving the new policy of Government. Ranade's glowing sentiments in his prospectus of the Deccan Sabha were their inspiration :—

“Liberalism and Moderation will be the watchwords of this Association. The spirit of Liberalism implies a freedom from race and creed prejudices and a steady devotion to all that seeks to do justice between man and man, giving to the rulers the loyalty that is due to the law they are bound to administer, but securing at the same time to the ruled the equality which is their right under the law. Moderation imposes the condition of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth by doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness’.

The Liberal Party—the only Constitutional Party in the country—gave a right lead to the people. The country must choose either reform or revolution. If it wants the former let it follow the path sketched out by its leaders and it shall reach the destined goal of full Responsible Government at no distant date.

A LIBERAL.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

### A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

#### **The Rise and Development of Urdu Drama.**

The first drama in Urdu is believed to be a translation of the now world renowned Sanskrit play, *Sakuntala*, brought out by a poet Nawaz or Niwaj, by the command of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. This is not obtainable from any of the local libraries or bookstalls, and beyond a mention of it in the histories of Urdu literature, there is no other detail to be found anywhere to show what if any literary or artistic merit it possessed. Whatever its defects may have been, it is obvious that Urdu drama came on the Indian stage with the finest material for model and inspiration and under the best of auspices. For in *Sakuntala*, the art of dramatic composition and scenic representation may be said to have reached about the highest watermark in India; and after the passing away of Aurangzeb, the splendour and magnificence as well as the luxury and enjoyment of the Court of the Great Mughal continued to grow for quite about a century.

This translation, however, appears to have met with little favour from the elite and the public alike, for there is no record of its having been staged. And even during the reign of Mohammad Shah, popularly known as Rangila Badshah (the gay Monarch), no literary drama worth the name was written or played, although doubtless there was no dearth of comical farces, improvised and played by professional clowns (the Naqqals or Bhands) for the amusement of the king and his courtiers. Such indeed was the fondness of this doting Monarch for pleasure and enjoyment that it is said that the news of the unopposed march of Nadir Shah as far as Amballa could not be broken to him by any body except by the ministers of pleasure and that too in the course of a farcical dialogue.

What was begun in art by Delhi was destined to be taken up and continued by its rival town, Lucknow. The regime of Wajid Ali Shah, Nawab of Lucknow, will be remembered as a

landmark in the history of Indian Art in decadence. In this period of opulence and luxury, effeminacy, vulgar imitation and artistic degeneracy was in full swing in music, poetry, painting, sculpture and architecture alike. The relieving feature seems to me to lie in but two directions, *viz.*, in the composition of a few musical forms notably in *Khials* and *Qawalies* and the creation of a musical comedy in Urdu, "*Indar Sabha*" by name, which claims the pre-eminence of being the first original play in Urdu and which played an important part in the revival of drama in Upper India.

*Indar Sabha* was written by one, bearing the *nom de plume* Amanat. Its plot is extremely simple and a description of it may not be without interest. The play opens with a scene of Raja Indar's Court the Indar Sabha proper, in which Raja Indar is shown seated in a gorgeous throne in a magnificent hall with rows of courtiers on either side and two Devas, Lala Dev and Kala Dev, in attendance. Peris are then introduced one by one, Pukh Raj Peri of topaz resplendence comes first, Nilam Peri of sapphire hue next, then Lal Peri of ruby lustre and last but not the least appears Sabaz Peri of emerald sheen, the heroine of the play. Each of these Peris in succession entertains the audience with a rich variety of dances and songs, *i.e.*, Ghazals, Chhands, Thumries, Basants, Dhan-Bahar, Holi and Sawan and then the curtain falls.

In the second scene, Sabaz Peri addressing Kala Dev in a few rhyming lines takes him into her confidence and acquaints him of her having fallen in love at first sight with a young prince of the human race, Gulfam by name. She then bids him go and fetch her beloved. The order is instantly obeyed and Gulfam on awakening finds himself in Fairy land with a celestial Peri in attendance. Gulfam's feelings of surprise, hesitation and home-sickness prove but temporary and soon melt under the warmth and pressure of loving assurances and entreaties on the part of Sabaz Peri and are changed at last into curiosity for witnessing the Indar Ka Akhara, of myth and fable. Sabaz Peri protests but Gulfam is obdurate and the Peri has to yield, for that is the only condition of Gulfam's accepting her embrace. Gulfam is accordingly carried and secretly shown the superb

splendour of the coveted scene. Lal Dev, however, tells Indra the tale of the human intruder and terrible is the punishment that awaits them. Gulfam is thrown into a well to rot and die a prisoner and Sabaz Peri is turned away in exile with her wings cut off.

While Gulfam is thus wasting away in solitary confinement, Sabaz Peri wanders in the disguise of a Jogan. At last her fame as an itinerant singer of extraordinary beauty and tenderness reaches King Indra who sends for her. She so ravishes the King with her melodies that she is given the royal imprimatur to take whatever she liked from the King's dominium. It is only when she demands her beloved, Gulfam, that her identity is discovered, too late, but the Raja true to his words, gladly grants the prayer.

The lovers meet amidst mutual felicitations and general rejoicings and the play ends with a valedictory song.

Whether judged by the old canons of Sanskrit drama or by the new standard of modern European drama, this play must be reckoned as holding a very low place indeed. The story of love between a Peri and a prince, the one proverbially fiery or celestial by nature and the other a human mortal of base earth, shocks the sense of probability and goes against the accepted canons of art. Moreover, the pitchforking of the Devs and Peris of Koh-i-Qaf into the court or Sabha of Indra, a God of Hindu Mythology, is a curious anachronism. The action in the Play is weak to a degree and there is certainly no characterization. Nevertheless, the language is clear, simple and idiomatic, free from artificial rhyming of Mukaffa and versification is smooth and flowing. The thumeries and Holis etc., in Hindi are distinctly of a high order of merit from the point of view, both of music and poetry. Some of them have by now become current coin or stock-in-trade of singers.

The success which *Indar Sabha* met was phenomenal. Not only in Lucknow but wherever there was a stage, *Indar Sabha* was sure to be played to attract crowded audiences. Nay more, it became so popular that it came to be shown in fairs and other places of public resort on the cheapest scale as paisa performances. It was bound to be appreciated by the Nawab of Oudh and his courtiers for whom it was originally written and whose Court

received in this place an indirect compliment of being a counterpart on earth of the Indar Sabha of Heaven. And one can picture to one self the epicurean Nawab occasionally taking the part of Raja Indar himself. Its popularity with the public, however, was due, I think, to the fact that just about that time, theatres came to be set up in big towns in imitation of English theatres for the sake of earning money by catering for the public amusement.

So popular had this play become towards the middle of the last century that some other poets too appeared to have exercised their talents on the same theme. One Madari Lal, probably a Kayastha of the United Provinces also brought out an *Indar Sabha*. This play is believed to be equal in dramatic, but inferior in literary merit to the *Indar Sabha* of Amanat.

The popularity of these theatres and the pecuniary success which attended on them gave a powerful impetus to play writing in Urdu—such as had probably never been given before by the patronage and munificence of rulers and chiefs. At the time of the great Imperial Assemblage, in Lord Lytton's viceroyalty in 1877, a company called the Victoria Natak Company set up a theatre in Delhi and employed the talents of a poet of some repute, Munshi Vinayak Parshad Talib, of Benares who wrote some plays of moderate worth.

Within a short time after this, a crop of so called dramas in Urdu flooded the bookstalls and the stage. By way of example I may mention the following :—

1. Hawai Majlas
2. Gul Bakaoli
3. Ali Baba and 40 thieves
4. Allauddin & the wonderful Lamp
5. Gulroo Zarina
6. Khandan Haman
7. Firoz Gulnar
8. Laila Majnoon
9. Shireen Farhad
10. Sangin Bakaoli
11. Chandraoli

12. Nal Damyanti
13. Raja Harish Chandra
14. Raja Bhartharu.

These and a score of others of the same style which amused the public up to within the last twenty years, may be classed for convenience as the *Urdu Drama of Victorian age* or briefly *Victorian Drama*, partly because it synchronized with the reign of Queen Victoria and partly because it was produced for, and after the model of the Victoria Natak Company.

The plots of these plays, as their titles indicate, were borrowed bodily or without much change from the existing fiction, *e.g.*, Qissa-i-Gul Bakaoli or Gulzari-i-Nasim of Pt. Daya Shankar Nasim and Alif-i-Laila (Arabian Nights). Nearly all of them were prepared to order by authors of little or no independent repute as either learned men or talented poets or stylists. Most of the authors were either in the pay of, or were paid by the proprietors of, those so-called theatrical companies. And it is interesting to find that not a few of them were descendants of old aristocrats fallen on evil days. Having sown wild oats in their days of youth and plenty and dreading the harvest of poverty, they found the stage a convenient refuge where they could lay the unction to their distressed souls and could imagine they were still playing the role of kings and courtiers, heroes and lovers. They did not, perhaps could not, be expected to know what rich treasures lay hidden in Sanskrit and Hindi literature in this domain and even the translations of Sanskrit plays published by Sir William Jones, Monier Williams and Professor Wilson were all Greek to them. The Urdu poets of the 16th, 17th and 18th and earlier part of the 19th century *e.g.*, Amir Khusro, Shams-valiullah, Shah Hatim, Mirza Rafia Sauda, Mir Dard, Mir Soz, Mir Taqi, Sayyad Insha, Sheikh Nasikh, Khwaja Atish, Momin, Zauk and Ghalib, being themselves scholars of Persian, Turkish and Arabic rather than of Sanskrit, had left absolutely no model for dramatic composition for their successors in Urdu.

It is for these reasons that Urdu drama receives no notice or comment at the hands of such scholars as Maulvi Karimuddin,

Maulvi Mohammad Hussain Azad and Maulvi Altaf Hussain Hali. And the few writers who have written on the subject have deplored the poverty of dramatic outturn in Urdu.

The language of these dramas is either very halting verse, worse than prose, or highly artificial rhyming prose.

The passion for rhyming prose can be traced very far back in the past from Urdu to Persian and even Arabic writers and it still lingers amongst the recent play-writers. Mukaffa prose, it is true, is indulged in even by the best writers and the name of Maulvi Mohammad Hussain Azad may be quoted as an example, who in his *Purani Roshni Ki Nai Dictionary* does employ it sometimes. But what in the hand of a gifted artist sounds as music is nothing but jargon or noise when used by imitators. Compare p. 130 *Muhazzab Bibi* of *Guldasta panch* with p. 23 of *Ali Baba & 40 thieves* by V. P. Talib. Thus ideas follow the words rather than words following the ideas.

The moral tone of these dramas was low. Slavish imitation of English popular plays was carried in two directions much to the detriment of the budding Urdu drama. First the free and easy and questionable tone of the English problem play which took a mischievous delight in holding up to ridicule and thus undermining old ideals of society in morals, customs and manners made the moral tone of the Urdu drama in its infancy extremely lax and in this respect it may be said with much force that English drama has had the same effect on Indian drama as Italian drama had on French drama and French drama on Restoration drama in England. And secondly the tunes of European music were introduced on the Indian stage in a most clumsy manner, and a novel versification was created in Urdu by poetasters to be sung to these tunes. The effect is most ludicrous. It is like stretching Urdu verse on the procrustian bed of English tune and torturing the words to make nonsense of them.

Nevertheless some tunes and poems even of this variety have caught the popular taste and are remembered and repeated to the present day.

Nor were the ideas very superior to the form and vehicle of expression. The love of the hero and the heroine is little above the passion of youth for beauty—a passion wild and strong

which often becomes clandestine, rushing the lover headlong into vicious crime. With very few exceptions, the farces or comic interludes were but vulgar burlesque of a low order. And as for the higher qualities of dramatic art-refinement in thought and delicacy of expression, restraint and economy of speech and action, gradual development of the plot and its denouement—these were sadly lacking in most of these plays.

Victorian Urdu drama then may be said to resemble in some respects not the Elizabethan but pre-Elizabethan or the Restoration drama of England. It is only a trifle superior to the sort of drama which Shakespeare ridicules in his *Midsummer Night's Dream* as acted by Bully Bottom and Company.

## II.

It is therefore with a sense of some pleasure and relief that one turns from this group of plays to another more or less contemporary series which was being produced by a band of cultured authors of whom one Babu Harish Chandar of Benares was the chief. Well-versed in Sanskrit literature, and thoroughly saturated with the beauties of immortal Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, Harish Chandar made contributions to the vernacular drama of Hindustan which rank with those made by the illustrious Bankim Chandar Chatterji in Bengal. Babu Harish Chandar took his plots mostly from the Puranas, an inexhaustible storehouse of myth and fable, tradition and history and it is now acknowledged that he wove the webs of his plots with wonderful grace and felicity and consummate skill. As his language is pure Hindi, his works do not fall within the scope of this paper. His dramatic works, however, exercised considerable influence on, and have served as models and in some few cases as sources, of later Urdu drama, for example.—Raja Harish Chandar, Rukmani Mangal and Billo Mangal.

Another class of writers made their mark in the domain of Urdu quasi-dramatic literature which cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed, even if it were to show that, had these gifted authors but turned their attention to serious and more sustained writing in this field, they would have considerably enriched the Urdu

drama. Maulvi Mohd. Hussain Azad's *Darbar-i-Akbari*, *Qissasi Hind* and *Purani Roshni Ki Nai Dictionary* contain brilliant scenes and character sketches, proving that the author possessed true dramatic insight. Munshi Jawala Parshad Bark of Lucknow was not only a frequent contributor to the pages of the *Oudh Punch* but produced one or two dramas such as *Maashuqua-i-Farang*, which shows that he had distinct dramatic talent and an excellent command over the language both in prose and verse. Pandit Tribhwan Nath Sapru (Hijra) too gave proof of his wit and humour with a racy prose style—see for instance, his *Mohrum ul haram* and *Nasha Ki Tarang*. Many poetical compositions of Akbar Hussain, display distinct dramatic charm and vigour. In his *Mukhamas Kita-i-hind* he gave an exceedingly interesting imaginary dialogue between an orthodox Mohammadan Waiz and the heterodox Sayyad. There were other writers too, such as Machhoo Beg. But head and shoulders above them stands the gigantic figure of Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar who in the four volumes of his *Fisana-i-Azad* that came out in parts in *Oudh Akhbar* gives abundant proof of his accurate observation, original humour and brilliant and pointed style so indispensable to a dramatist. The characters of ludicrous *Khoji* and pusillanimous Bengali Babu with his familiar abuse *O Shala feel ka ban* have become proverbial in Urdu-speaking world.

A few years after the beginning of the 20th century, a change appears to have come on over both the character and quality of Urdu drama. The following dramas may perhaps be taken as examples of this period :—

1. Ram Natak by Munshi Daya Narain Ufaq of Lucknow.
2. Said-i-Hawis.
3. Subhai Ummed.
4. Silver King.

By Agha Hashar Kashmiri, Lahore,

5. Atma Partama.—Billo Mangal or Sur Das.
6. Raja Harish Chandar by Pt. Durga Das, Dilkhush, Lahore.
7. Mahabharat.
8. Ramayana.

By Pt. Narain Parshad Betab, Delhi.

9. Raj Dulari.

10. Murari Dada

By Pt. Brij Mohan Dattatriya of Delhi

11. Brahmand Natak by Principal Kanwar Sain.

12. Swami Dayanand by Swdarshan.

13. Maharana Partab by B. Radha Krishna Das of Agra.

14. Buddha Deva by Munshi Bishambar Sahai of Meerut.

15. Vir Vishal by Pt. Mulkh Raj Sharma

16. Ganga Avtaran by Vir Abhimanae.

17. Nooriwatan & Ittifaq.

To this list must, I think, be added a class of short dramatic stories such as those created and perfected by a gifted Urdu writer who has kept his identity disguised under the *nom-de-plume* of Munshi Prem Chand.

This which may be styled the post-Victorian Urdu drama, stands out in some sort of a contrast against the former for it marks to my mind a distinct improvement over its predecessor. For one thing the subjects are more varied and interesting in so far as they cover a wide range from myth and fiction to ancient Indian religious epic and dramatic literature and history. It even breaks new ground such as science in Brahmand Natak ; and social life as in Raj Dulari and Murari Dada and even launches in Politics as in Noor-i-Watan and Ittifaq ; secondly the general moral tone is superior and the language is chaster. Then thirdly, the plot is more complex and develops gradually and culminates in some sort of a denouement.

It will not be possible within the limits of this paper to give even brief outlines of the plots of any of these dramas and I must content myself with offering a few observations only in respect of the better known authors.

Agha Mohammad Hashar's dramas appeal to me as dramas of passion which he delineates with the force and vigour of a Marlowe. His characters stand out in bold relief for the intensity of their feelings. His love is passionate, his pathos is harrowing and his grief knows no bounds. His versatility and mastery of prose and verse, his vivacity of thought are displayed to advantage when he makes a pair of diametrically opposite

characters thrust and parry as in a duel\*. His "*Silver King*" has been very popular not only with the general theatre-going public but also with the students and teachers, who stage it in schools and colleges with enthusiasm. In *Billo Mangal or Sur Das*, (now called Atma and Parmatama), he has achieved remarkable success in weaving the delicate silken threads of Hindi in good Urdu stuff. Babu Harish Chandar's original drama of the same name has not suffered but distinctly gained in richness and variety, if not in melody and sweetness in the hands of Agha Hashar.

His defects are precisely those of Marlowe's. Intensity rather than delicacy, deep colours and strong contrasts more than fine shades are the rule. This tells on refined or sensitive nerves particularly when the most horrible crimes are allowed by the author to be represented on the stage. There are some scenes in *Silver King* and *Billoo Mangal* which produce the same sort of creepy feeling over the audience as in the midnight scene of Dr. Faustus when he is awaiting his doom on the advent of Mephistopheles.

*Mahabharat* of Betab created quite a sensation for some time wherever it was first staged and still holds the field as one of the best Urdu plays. Immortal Vyās's work is itself a drama *in excelsis* and surely the Pandit could have had no difficulty in extracting a fine plot out of this encyclopaedia. His talent, however, is abundantly displayed in hitting off the salient points and giving them artistic touch or tone. He uses his Hindi with conscious command and the effect is instantaneous for in songs or lyrics, Hindi is still infinitely superior to Urdu.

The episode of Draupadi's tearing a strip off her goldshot silken Sari for bandaging Srikrishna's finger-cut and the latter's grateful offer to repay the kindness a thousand-fold, the episode of Nanda Barber's humble part, having been performed unasked by the Bhagwan in disguise, the well scene where Sewa Chamar begs (and begs for some time in vain) for permission to draw water, or later the river-side scene where Cheta Chamar protests

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\* See for instance (1) *Silver King*, Act III, Scene 2, striking dialogue between Asad and Parwin, (2) *Sur Das*, Act I, Scene 6, Ramdas father threatening his son Billoo with disinheritance and the latter's retort.

and invokes his deity—all these are very happily interwoven in the plot and besides pointing a moral, materially enhance the interest of the play.

A serious defect that I notice in this play is the old world attempt at representing Hell and Heaven on the stage by what appears to me after all childish or primitive devices, *e.g.*, blazing fires, wriggling snakes, pools of blood and pus and hideous creatures—and Heaven—by beautiful arcades, bubbling streams, dancing fountains, chirping birds and grazing cows. It is to my mind a dramatic error to try to materialise what is after all a mental condition of intensive feeling.

The same remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to his later production, the *Ramayana*, for which he had the Ram Natak of Daya Narain Ufaq for improving upon. In these dramas while passion is intense and characterization forceful, the language is not quite free from certain defects. These to my mind are the following :—

- (1) Rhyming prose (*Mukaffi*) is still obtrusively common.
- (2) Sanskrit words and phrases are often indiscriminately placed cheek by jowl with Arabic and Persian words, thus producing an incongruous effect.
- (3) Verses are sometimes too frequently employed in dialogues, even in heated discussions. This gives an air of artificiality to the scene. An occasional couplet or apt quotation in verse is open to no objection in a prose drama, on the other hand it enhances the effect, particularly in lovers' society where whole ghazals are permissible. But they are out of place in moments of excitement or high passion, particularly anger when short brusque expressions are more natural, except when the drama is itself in verse. Moreover the desire to maintain interest at high pitch sometimes gives rise to forced situations and ranting speeches.

Most of the foregoing defects are avoided in *Buddha Deva* by Munshi Bishambar Sahai which seems to me to hold a high place on literary grounds. The sentiments are noble and treat-

ment artistic. It is a drama of repose, wherein Shant Ras is predominant. I have not seen it acted on the stage but am told that it has proved a success. Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatrya's *Raj Dulari* and *Murari Dada* are prose dramas of modern social and home life and while holding the mirror up to nature for educated Indians, aim at reform. The thoughts and feelings, the weaknesses, frolics and foibles of the men and women of upper middle society are delineated with remarkable success. Although written in prose, they are not prosaic by any means but are replete with delicate artistic touches. The style is racy, the language is thoroughly idiomatic and the tone is scrupulously chaste. They are, as it were, Jane Austin's novels dramatised by a Bernard Shaw. Only the Pandit lacks the Shavian courage to push his heterodoxy to its logical conclusion. He is a believer in the rule of the Golden mean.

It does not lie in my mouth to say anything as to the merits or demerits of my own humble attempt at creation in the field of drama. I can only lay claim to have turned my prentice hand in *Brahmand Natak* to a new literary experiment by using the heavenly bodies as my *dramatis personae*.

Prithvi (the Earth) falls in love with Mangal (Mars) and employs Chapala (Electricity) to carry her love messages. The Comet (*Dumdar Tara*) intercedes on her behalf and begs permission for uniting the pair from Suraj Maharaj (the sun) who is, as it were, the *Pater Familias* and Sovereign, Lord Paramount of the whole group of planets. This is indignantly refused. Prithvi becomes insane and raves in her madness but at last a vision opens her eyes to the truth about the cosmic process. It is a fantasy, a veritable Midsummer Night's dream, no more. It is the product of the exuberance of youthful imagination which lost in the contemplation of the star-bespangled sky fancies; it sees the drama of the universe in the unerring periodic movements of the stars to the tune of the music of the spheres. Erasmus Drawin's *Loves of the Plants* suggested to me the idea of the Loves of the Planets and Message *from Mars*-the *Message to Mars*. Krishna Missar's *Prabodh Chandrodaya* (the rise of the moon of knowledge) which dramatized Vedantic philosophy, gave me the idea of trying to represent scientific truths in a dramatic form. The

appearance of Halley's Comet presented a suitable occasion for writing the story. My Chapala (Electricity) is only a Puck in Indian garb, which can girdle the Earth in less than a second.

Munshi Prem Chand's short stories that have come out from time to time in various Urdu monthlies extort praise and have commanded a well merited popularity and have already not only passed through some editions in the collected form of Prem Pachisi but have, I believe been translated into several languages, e.g. Hindi, Bengali and Gujrati. Munshi Prem Chand may justly be said to be the originator and perfector of this form of Literature in Urdu-narrative in form and dramatic in character and has already drawn many imitators in this field of literary activity.

Of the historical dramas, a few have either been adapted or translated from the Bengali and possess some worth. *Maharana* by Babu Radha Krishna Das is probably drawn from Tod's Rajasthan and Rajput Bardic History. As a drama, however, it seems to me to be lacking action. *Vir Vrishal* deals with the adventures of Chandragupta Maurya and *Swami Dayanand* by Mahashya Sudarshan, of the great founder of the Arya Samaj. They are interesting productions as showing the directions in which Urdu drama is moving just now. *Noor-I-Wattan* and *Itfaq* distinctly take up a political theme.

There are doubtless a number of their dramas in Urdu which have not come under my notice and from reports concerning them I gather that some of them are distinctly good. *Ganga Avtaran* is one of them. It is a happy and hopeful sign of the times that within the last few years men of education and culture and refinement have begun to turn their attention towards playwriting and one can mark a growing demand and appreciation for better class of drama. Coming nearer home Mrs. Richards' enthusiasm has stimulated creation and criticism in this field of art in the Punjab.

It only remains for me to summarise and offer in the end a few general observations. I have shown that during the period that Urdu was in the making it was singularly devoid of the form of artistic expression. From the earliest times down to Ghalib (1869 A.D.), none of the masters of Urdu prose and poetry wrote any dramas. It was only after the decline of the Moghal Empire

had set in that drama in Urdu took its birth, that the earliest attempts were poor both in matter and form, not for the absence of material and model but for want of technical knowledge and skill on the part of the authors, that the group of dramas of the so-called Victorian Age was but a teeming multitude of hybrid productions pandering to the vulgar taste—and that it is only in the post-Victorian epoch that something like a decent drama worth the name is seeing the light of the day. As compared with the ancient Sanskrit or modern European drama, the Urdu dramatic literature is still low; that mysterious charm of characterization, expression and action which is found in Kalidas and Shakespeare for instance, is yet to come.

It would be a piece of temerity on my part to forecast the future of Urdu drama. From the trend of past events, however, one may venture to give an opinion. Already Urdu drama has shown sign of vigorous growth and development. Men of light and leading will surely recognise in it a powerful instrument for the uplift of the people and the next wave of dramatic composition is likely to be historico-political, even as it has been, I understand, in Persia one of the most backward countries from the dramatic standpoint. Historical dramas like the *King Henry's* of Shakespeare are yet to be written in India. Through and after these perhaps will in course of time arise the true romantic drama. Then and only then will Urdu drama take its rightful place by the side of the best productions of the world.

KUNWAR SAIN

## THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

### Chino-Japanese Imbroglio\*.

The art of judging foreign nations is not more difficult to learn than the kindred art of elucidating one's own country before a foreign audience. Both the themes look easy enough of attainment, for success in both instances proceeds from a superficial satisfaction. It is the ignorance of the reader on both the occasions which lightens the task of an ambitious writer. You simply catch the straw in the wind and float with it—and you will not err in your judgment of the direction of the wind for you will not fail to *sell* (which is the true criterion of success in these days). There remains however the anomaly of achievement for the student and the scholar. An intimate touch with the realities reveals to you the awkward fact that your demi-gods of specialists and experts prove mere tin-rattles that shake and emit noises—melodious or otherwise as the occasion demands, but noises all the same.

These are uncharitable thoughts which a reviewer would not choose had he a better choice, to serve as an introduction to the notice of the latest book by a well-known expert of the Far East. "Putnam Weale"—the picturesque pseudonym of a clever and facile writer—has made a name for himself as an authority amongst English-speaking countries on Eastern Politics, particularly Chinese. And he knows it. For does he not open two of the five chapters of his new book *The Truth About China And Japan* with words that form at once the conscious egotistry of knowledge and the tragedy of confusion of thought in the presentation of an admittedly difficult subject:—"The writer can lay claim to an intimate knowledge of the Far East and of everything that affects it". (p.47). "The writer has traced the general outline of the problem as it has appeared to him from an

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\**The Truth About China And Japan* by Putnam Weale (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1921).

*What Japan Wants* by Yoshi S. Kuno of California University (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1921).

intensive study conducted on the spot....." (p. 68). The result of this 'intensive study' may be summed up this wise :

'China is the poor barbarian, a mental megalomaniac whose memory of past magnificence has lapsed and who is now being gradually driven into the sluggish backwaters of political and intellectual servility by an aggressive neighbour. Japan is the offending top-dog, and threat to the orderly evolution of the peaceful Chinese (under the benevolent direction of the West) comes from the angry snarls of a particularly vicious upstart.'

There is a good deal of truth in this indictment. China has nothing to thank her neighbour for save gross injustice, cruel maltreatment and violent exploitation. Japan has hardly any decent plea to put up save the shibboleth, borrowed from Western Imperialism, of Peace, Order and Security. Although we deny that Chinese civilisation has been thrown overboard or that Japan is not a very apt pupil of the West, we agree with Putnam Weale in his charge against Japan so far as her dealings with China are concerned. But he has not stopped here, nor has he proceeded to preach the lofty doctrine of international harmony or insist upon the rights of *big* nations. He prescribes instead specific physics for the ills of the patient. He wants the powers—the maritime powers is his qualification—to intervene and compel the Japanese to dis-own their designs upon the political hegemony of China. There are two test cases : the ownership and the direction of the Railways and the issue of extra-territoriality. Mr. Weale is emphatic in his declaration of the right of China to the full and free sovereignty of her railways. Communications in modern economy occupy a strategic value of first importance and a Japanese control of the lines would mean a practical protectorate over the economic life of the people. On extra-territoriality the author is less unequivocal and suggests many half-way houses to complete abolition including the creation of appellate courts with foreign assessors and of trading zones ten miles wide all along the lines of communication. It is a tragic irony that a country politically independent and her status recognised by the rest of the world can neither control her ports of entry nor has any jurisdiction over the misdemeanants who

have only to declare a foreign nationality to escape the punishment of the law.

Mr. Weale is full of righteous indignation over the rustication of the inherent right of sovereignty when he finds Japan in possession of some of the Chinese Railways; but his indignation is tempered with a mental reservation when he discusses the graver issue of extra-territoriality. Are there some ulterior reasons and motives demanding a compromise in the latter event, or is it a mere mental *cul-de-sac*? The ways of Japan in her Imperialistic progress are dis-similar in details to those of her exemplars. Britain and America are in the field to-day as is Japan—to help in the *building up* of new China. The Oriental has selected to consolidate his position by first controlling the transport lines to enable him later to dictate the consumption-articles of the people; the Western philanthropist chooses the slower but surer method of winning the market first in order to obtain control over the communication lines that converge there. The goal is the same. Lest we forget that Putnam Weale is a Westerner he has chosen to dictate a solution which will carry the strongest appeal to his compatriots. To the disinterested and impartial observer there seems hardly any difference save of details between the two aims. Mr. Weale's charge against the Japanese—true in essential detail—loses the force of conviction when he compromises on the akin issue of extra-territoriality—issue which touches his own nationals—and his plea reads like that of an oily advocate who damns Japan (deservedly enough) apparently in order to save China but in fact to get rid of an undesirable competitor. The *weal* of China has become a pawn in the international game of bluff and exploitation, of greed and rivalry, of avarice and ambition and our author has not chosen well to use the same old pawn twice over.

While we disagree with Putnam Weale's specifics we can frankly admire his lucid and forcible presentation of the case. The valuable appendices at the end of the book are an illuminating reading in themselves and form a valuable summary of Japanese policy towards China.

*Truth About China And Japan* is a book by a Britisher for native consumption on an alien people. *What Japan Wants* is

written by a Japanese for alien (American) consumption on the policy of his own country. We have grouped the two books together, for both depend for success upon the camouflage of ignorance in the minds of their readers. The latter book is a much simpler reading for the author does not pretend to conceal his motives behind any cloud-screen of offensive verbiage. He is frankly pro-Japanese and his aim is to place before the American public in clear-cut and well-defined phraseology the motives and desires of his country as exhibited in her political and commercial policy. Dr. Kuno set before himself a limited objective, but he has been foiled to a certain extent of successful achievement by the very limitations he imposed upon himself. The Chino-Japanese tangle has come to the forefront in the Washington Conference and United States has not hesitated to play up her Pacific interests.

Dr. Kuno tells us what Japan wants even though at the expense of other people—but he leaves unconsidered the ethics of the question. We all may covet the neighbour's fleshpots and may indeed do well with them after we get them, but it is no argument in justification of our covetousness. Political morality may have become a mere catch-phrase, but the wishes and desires of a country need interpretation in terms of such morality—be it ever so much hypocritical and a mere cloak. When such wishes clash with similar *wants* of other countries a greater reason there is to reason out the whys and the wherefores. Dr. Kuno is for mere statement and presumably leaves the question of argument to the diplomats, but he forgets that writers like Putnam Weale focuss the mind of their compatriots on points of diplomacy and there is need of a counterblast from the other side.

Let us see what some of these wants are. Japan wants an outlet for her surplus population. Putnam Weale calls this superfluity of men a myth and instances the case of the northern island of Hokkaido which is practically uninhabited. Dr. Kuno does not give the lie direct to this mis-statement by quotations from the census figures but contents himself with a simple assertion to the contrary. There is again the tragically vexed question of Japanese inten-

tions in China, or take the absolutely unjustifiable annexation of Korea. The author simply asks us to bear in mind "the similarity of the relationship of Mexico to United States, to that of China to Japan" (p. 32). He further admits that "irregularities frequently occur when either nations or individuals rise to prominence within a limited time. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that Japan regards the annexation of Korea as comparable to the annexation of Texas by the United States. Neither is she able to differentiate between her succession to the concessions of Germany in Shantung and the succession of United States to the French concessions in Panama". Apparently Dr. Kuno is anxious for us to swallow the pill with the gibe and not discriminate any too nicely about political honesty or the sanctity of obligations where a weak foreign nation is concerned. *Tu quo que* arguments may possess validity in a prize-ring but do not carry conviction to the international conscience, to the evolution of which the bleeding people to-day are looking forward for peace and harmony.

Dr. Kuno has however attempted to go beyond his circumscribed limits in the last chapter headed "What Japan should do". He is characteristically frank about the methods of Japanese diplomacy. It is interesting to read from a Japanese pen that Japan has a dual system of diplomacy : "With the Orient, Japan uses her hands and feet; with the Occident, her head" apparently as the power and the strength of the party varies. One may not indict Japanese diplomacy alone for double-dealing, for no nation can show an honourable record. A supreme instance of the ponderous gloom of inanity that Old Diplomacy still has the power to cast over any well-intentioned scheme of harmony and goodwill all round is found in the files of the Washington Conference. We are not yet out of the mire of intrigues and jealousy and books like Putnam Weale's and Dr. Kuno's help us in understanding the depths of the whirlpools and in appreciating the difficulties of reaching dry land.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

### Recent Literature of Travel

1. *The Lands of Silence*. By (the late) Sir Clements R. Markham (the University Press, Cambridge) 1921.
2. *Children of the Slaves*. By Stephen Graham (Macmillan & Co., Ltd, London) 1920.
3. *Japanese Impressions*. By Paul-Louis Couchoud. Translated by Frances Rumsey (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) 1921.
4. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. By C. E. Tyndale Biscoe (Seeley Service & Co., Ltd., London) 1922.
5. *In the Land of Lalla Rookh*. By Ardaser Sorabjee N. Wadia (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London) 1921.
6. *The Civilian's South India*. By "Civilian". (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) 1922.
7. *Tombs, Tents and Gardens*. By D. S. Bastavala (the Tata Publicity Corporation, Ltd, Bombay) 1922.

The late Sir Clements Markham was a specialist in the history of arctic and antarctic exploration and his posthumous work—*The Lands of Silence*—recently issued, is a valuable historical sketch of the efforts made by the many enterprising explorers to unravel the mysteries of the polar regions. Left partially incomplete by the sudden death of the talented author, it has been passed through the press by Mr. F. H. H. Guillemard, who has brought to bear on Sir Clements' work an unbounded zeal and a ripe scholarship, with the result that the book under consideration is a graphic and vivid account—at once accurate and interesting—of the thrilling and romantic incidents which have characterized the daring exploits of the adventurous explorers of the tracts round the North and South Poles. The work is entrancing but it is none the less instructive and it is a highly meritorious acquisition to the historical literature of Polar travel. The merit of the letter-press is materially enhanced by its being embellished with a large number of excellent photographic reproductions. A select bibliography of the literature of the subject adds to the usefulness of the volume both for purposes of study and reference.

Mr. Stephen Graham's *Children of the Slaves* is more a sociological

study than a book of travel, but it may also be classed under the latter category as it deals with the various aspects in the Slave States of America—Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, New Orleans and others. The book is a vivid portrayal of the lights and shadows of the realities of the Negroes' life in the southern States of America. Slavery, in the form in which it obtained in America till the Civil War, was never known in India at any period of her history, but Indian social reformers interested in the problem of raising the depressed classes—who may be said to correspond in a remote way to the slaves of America—can scarcely do better than study carefully Mr. Graham's masterly and brilliant sketch of the subject.

There is no end to the making of books on Japan and the literature of that country in the principal languages of the West is quite enormous by now. Nevertheless, we accord a cordial welcome to the English translation of Mr. Paul-Louis Couchoud's French work issued under the title of *Japanese Impressions*. It is not strictly a book of travels or description. Rather as its title indicates it is a collection of impressions of some important aspects of Japanese life by a keen observer, a scholar and, above all, by a remarkable master of language. The value of the English edition is appreciably increased by its containing a long and highly characteristic introduction from the pen of M. Anatole France, which appears for the first time.

Mr. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe's is a well-known name and figure in Kashmir as one who placed before the Kashmiris, for the first time, facilities for the acquisition of modern knowledge through the medium of English. Mr. Biscoe came to Kashmir in 1890 and has spent the best part of his life since in that terrestrial paradise. He is no week-end tourist who comes to Kashmir to "do" the country in a couple of weeks or so. He knows Kashmir as few Europeans and has brought his intimate knowledge of the country and the people to bear on his work called *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. The work of a master of the subject, it merits careful consideration at the hands of all interested in the fortunes of that picturesque country, whose charms are so graphically unfolded by Mr. Biscoe in his excellent book.

Unlike Mr. Biscoe, Mr. A. S. Wadia is not a permanent resident in Kashmir but is a vacation tourist in the best sense of the term. He prepared himself for a six months' tour in the play-ground of Asia by thoroughly mastering the literature of Kashmir travel ; and endowed with

the eyes of a keen and careful observer and possessing a charming style, he has managed to produce—in his book called *In the Land of Lalla Rookh*—an interesting and meritorious work dealing with Kashmir. The temperament in which Mr. Wadia approaches his subject can be gathered from the poetical title of his work, but he certainly has greater, much greater knowledge of the subject he writes about than Moore who immortalized Kashmir in verse. Though not perhaps so successful as his earlier work of travel—*The Call of the World*—Mr. Wadia's delineation of Kashmir merits attention as a notable addition to the literature of that country.

The chief merits of the anonymously published work—*The Civilian's South India*—are its freshness and directness. It is a work embodying the experiences of an Anglo-Indian Civilian in the southern Presidency and conveys a remarkably accurate impression of the country and the people. Written, we are told, by a District Officer, the work has the vigour and attractiveness which go with a first-hand knowledge of the subject. Though India—even South India—is a much-exploited land, a perusal of this book has satisfied us that there is yet much in the country which had hitherto been left unnoticed in the stilted pages of average Anglo-Indian tourist or the stereotyped ones of the ordinary novelist.

Miss Bastavala is a grand-daughter of our veteran publicist, Sir Dinshaw Wacha and she is gifted with a taste for travel and a pleasing style. The result is an interesting work of travel called *Tombs, Tents and Gardens*. Consisting mainly of extracts from her diaries, supplemented by notes and sketches, the little book offers an attractive account of Miss Bastavala's visit to the scenes and sights of the two famous cities of Northern India—Agra and Delhi. We shall watch the literary career of this talented young lady with sympathetic interest.

#### Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

Mr. Robert Lynd is a Journalist of good reputation. He is Irish but professes to judge impartially between the disputants when Irish question is on the table. That from the nature of the case he cannot do so, has not daunted him from confessing in public his political faith in the destiny of Erin. His plea in *Ireland A Nation* (Grant Richards, London) published originally in 1919 has gathered greater interest since the tragic course of events in 1920-21. Now that the first stage in the grant of a self-governing status to Ireland has been completed, the book illustrates from the results the wisdom and the discerning power of the writer. Mr. Lynd has attemp-

ted to show—successfully we think, as later events testify only too well—that “the English conquest of Ireland has been a force for evil in international politics”. American history is a direct witness ; and other European nations have not hesitated to point to England’s treatment of Ireland as enough justification for a similar policy of grab and exploitation. Mr. Lynd gives us a hurried but a conspective survey of Irish history through its centuries of travail and brings out effectively the claim of Ireland to be treated as a nation. Frontiers do not make a nation—at any rate they have lost their significance to-day—though Ireland claims a homogeneous boundary. It is the ideals that sway the people’s mind, the thoughts that govern the “unbribed intellect”, which give harmony and uniqueness deserving the status of nationhood. The author has wisely included a note on Irish Literature and brief sketches of few leading “voices of new Ireland” as illustrative of his central theme. Who will read of Padraic Pearse’s noble tragedy—the symbol of supreme sacrifice for a cause and deny to his country the dignity of an ideal worth fighting for ? Who could read of the romantic adventure of  $\mathcal{A}$ —poet, painter, journalist and prophet—without ungrudgingly according tribute of admiration to the land which begot him ? Mr. Robert Lynd deserves well of us if only for provoking us to render our homage to the great souls that are making history to-day in Erin.

The first edition of *The India Guide and Directory*, issued by Messrs. Arnold White & Co., (Bankshall Street, Calcutta) was noticed by us in terms of appreciation and we accord a hearty welcome to the second edition, which is a great improvement on the first. Unlike other Directories it is arranged in such a way as to facilitate reference and with the foreign section now added for the first time, it will form an indispensable work of reference to lookers after information, specially about business, trade and commerce of India. It is well-printed and cheaply priced and deserves as such wide publicity.

In noticing the first two volumes of the *Collected papers of Sir A. W. Ward* (University Press, Cambridge) we drew attention to the very great value of the literary and historical papers brought together in the collection. We have now before us the third, fourth and fifth volumes completing the series and it is difficult to convey to our readers within the limits at our disposal an adequate idea of the intellectual riches comprised in these volumes. The collection is remarkable for its variety, high standard of workmanship and literary charms and will be to students of literature and history an intellectual treat.

The prose translation of *Homer's Odyssey* by Butcher and Land (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) is admittedly the best of its class and kind in English. We welcome therefore a school edition of it, giving the unabridged text and trust it will have the large circulation which it so richly deserves.

*The Pictorial Pocket Atlas of the World* (George Philip and Son, Ltd., London) appears in a new edition in view of the recent political changes in the map of Europe. The atlas is very well-known as a compact and handy compendium of Geography as illustrated by maps and to all those who may desire to understand the present complicated political boundaries on the continent and other parts of the world as a result of the War, the atlas will be indispensable.

The British and Continental Guide Books issued by Messrs. Ward, Locke & Co., Ltd., (Salisbury Square, London) deservedly enjoy a high reputation in the range of tourist literature for clearness, conciseness and informativeness as also for accuracy. All these qualities are noticeable in a prominent degree in their new *Hand-book to Belgium and the Battlefields*, the seventh edition of which has been completely rewritten, over-hauled and fully brought up to date. Embellished with no less than sixty excellent photographic reproductions, it is at present about the best and almost ideal hand-book to the country and the neighbouring tracts it deals with.

The death-rate in India is high but mortality among infants is beyond proportion in relation to the average death-rate and the care and management of infants has become a question of great and urgent importance. The tenth edition of *The care of Infants in India*, (Messrs. George Gill and Sons, Ltd., 13 Warwick Lane, London) therefore deserves to be carefully studied. It contains very valuable hints for mothers and nurses in India, which may be followed to advantage both in health and in sickness.

The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., (6 Tavistock Square, London) are issuing a number of handy pamphlets on the varied problems of the day. Their main object is to acquaint the average workingman with the facts of the problem and to visualise to him in simple language the complexities that demand solution. The thesis is avowedly presented in the light of the Labour's formulated policy. Of such the three pamphlets on the *Governments of Ireland, Egypt and India* respectively touch the Imperial political issues. Limited within the compass of a few pages, though the survey is necessarily hurried, the essentials of the conflict has not escaped the attention of the writers and in each case a free and far-seeing policy is

advocated. Mr. A. Fenner Brockway deals with the problem of India and correctly diagnoses the successive stages of the *malaise* that has culminated in the present campaign of Non-co-operation. Mrs. Green, the historian of the Irish Soul, in a judiciously restrained analysis of the proposed solutions of the Irish tangle gives to us a picture of the indomitable resolution of the Irish race to be free—a picture of idealism that has moved generations of Irishmen to sacrifice their all for the precious boon of freedom and liberty. The Egyptian data is compiled by Mr. Forster who lays no claim to the advocacy of any particular solution but sets out the facts sufficiently to publish the brutalities of the military rule now in force.

The other set of pamphlets that has reached us deals with the industrial issues. *Control of Industry* by Mrs. Cole is an exposition of Guild Theory of the State in relation to industry. Emphasis is laid on the functional aspect of Society and a reorganisation based on democratic control of industry working in harmony with the consumers is advocated. In another pamphlet Mr. Turner explains the attitude of Labour as regards land and agriculture. The essentials of a forward labour policy are summed up under three groups:—the nationalisation of land, abolition of Game laws and the creation of a machinery of self-government for the industry (the last demand being in conformity with the attitude of the Guild-Socialists).

Mr. W. H. King's *Bookland*—an introduction to English Literature—maintains the reputation of the New Era Library (Messrs. George Philip & Son, Ltd., London). The author has attempted, and quite successfully too, to trace the gradual growth and development of the national literature of England in a clear and connected story, easily understandable and digestible. A study of this little brochure may be recommended to all, specially to those who are interested in those authors whose life and works stand out as definite landmarks on the road of English literary progress.

*Buddhist Psalms*, translated from the Japanese Shinzan Shorin, by S. Yamable and L. Adams Beck, (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) in the "Wisdom of the East Series", is a veritable treasure-house which will yield gems of great value to those seekers after truth, who are ambassadors of peace and goodwill among mankind of all races and climes.

Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London have brought out a good and handy edition of that well-known classic Thomas A Kempis' *Of the Imitation of Christ*. The book may well find place on the table of each serious student of the admonitions useful for the spiritual life.

The Indian Publishing Company, Lahore, have brought out a collection of patriotic poems by Sayad Abdul Qadir, M. A. entitled *A Book of National Poetry*. It will prove good reading to Indian students and young men.

*The Empire at a Glance* by John Bensley Thornhill (J. B. Thornhill, 14 Jermyn Street, London) is a useful little tract, giving valuable information about the different parts of the Empire. We notice, however, a serious omission in as much as we have looked in vain for any figures or statistics about India. In a second edition we hope this will be rectified, and all component parts of the Empire will be duly included.

*Magic made Easy*, new and revised edition, by David Devenant, *Match-stick Magic* by Will Blyth (C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., Henrietta Street, London) will interest all interested in the art of conjuring. Young educated Indians should study such books as a little practice in spare moments will furnish innocent enjoyment and entertainment to children of all ages.

Ganesh & Co., the enterprising Publishers of Madras have been very prompt in bringing together in a handy form the various messages that Non-co-operation leaders sent out for the benefit and instruction of their countrymen on the eve of their arrest. The book is appropriately named *The Pilgrims' March* in the now historic phrase of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Inspiring and characteristically idealistic in their tone those messages will form a useful reading after the din of conflict and controversy has ceased, besides being truly reflective, at the present moment, of the faith which urged the leaders on to their self-immolation.

"Asia is one; and Asia's natural leader is Hind". This is not a parochial view but a historic truth. M. Paul Richard believes in the validity of this truth and hopes for its re-assertion. *To India—The Message of the Himalayas* (Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1922) sounds his Call to India to rise up and be herself again. M. Richard has enormous faith in spiritual democracy and visualises in these short and beautiful prose-poems the destiny of India in the future Commonwealth of Humanity—a Commonwealth that is not guided by avarice and greed but is broadly based on spiritual values.

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## FROM THE DESK.

### The death of Cant.

It is difficult to shed tears over the eccentric demise of the grand old manner of hypocrisy and cant in one little corner of this globe. There has been during the last 50 years such a parade of smooth-tongued diplomacy as veritably to nauseate the human faculties of appreciation and credulity. There was no department of human activity but was infected with this altogether vicious though virile germ. And the fear grew on all truth-abiding men that the kingdom of God was receding farther and farther away. The war destroyed many of the cherished illusions of mankind but the after-math of war has seen the slow building up of the age-old custom which one would have thought had been effectively choked by the blood of the millions of this earth's best. Wilson's *Fourteen Points* were interpreted to act as a remedial balm on the ulcerated sores of this miserable humanity. Poor Wilson! —he overreached his length and swiftly found his true bearings in the mire of robbed conceit and disappointed clericalism. Self-determination, justice, liberty, freedom—what a glorious array of human desires and social equities! They still abound the face of the earth and find an exalted apotheosis in the speeches of publicists and statesmen. But how recks it the humble man, the average toiler, the credulous ryot or the common people? Despair and desparation—the two attitudes that have run amok and count the largest

number of devotees to-day all over the world. But why?—You may well ask. They asked for bread and stone was given unto them. They cry for shelter and the house of cards that had erstwhile given them protection rattles down with a crash. They struggle for the breath of life and the grinding screw is tightened down to strangle them the more effectively, and wherefor?—so that the iron men of this world may raise their piles a little higher; in order that the profiteers may continue to wax fat on their ill-gotten gains; in order that traffic in souls suffer no abatement. Freedom and equity forsooth!—they are but the convenient phraseology for the convenience of the masters of the age. And who, pray you, are these masters? I, Lazarus, I:—

Undershaft (selecting a career for his son, Stephen): “He knows nothing and he thinks he knows everything. That points clearly to a political career.”

Stephen: “...I am an Englishman; and I will not hear the Government of my country insulted.”

Undershaft (a millionaire who has earned his millions by making arms and shells): “The Government of your country! I am the Government of your country; I and Lazarus. Do you suppose that you and half-a-dozen amateurs like you sitting in a row in that foolish gabble shop can govern Undershaft and Lazarus?”—(*Major Barbara.*)

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The tears of the world have flown in vain and the catastrophic changes in the mentality of our rulers expected to follow from the shattering of old-world morality have simply not occurred. In fact aggravating tendencies have appeared and old credulities revived. Under the breath-shattering names of self-determination, justice, liberty, freedom, activities are being relentlessly pursued along the old grooves of exploitation, grab, plunder and ruin.

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India is no exception and ever since the doctrine of Cawnpore gained supreme control over the British Foreign Office policy India has provided a fair field for experimentation. Pledges fair and plenty have reigned in upon her; smooth words followed in

their wake. But whoever cares to read can perceive behind this barrage a relentless grip, a grasping continuous effort to teach the generations of India to keep to their places, an obsession of cowardly adventure which fears assassination every moment and in panic divests, by force of arms, every living creature of kindly attributes and refuses to treat him as a fellow sojourner. But then all these insidious acts and motives lay and still lie hid behind a curtain of feeble apologies, of vain promises and pledges, of futile recognitions of human status (on paper alone). Cruel shocks have been administered at times to fond delusions of him that lay his trust in such words, but the optimism of man is simply marvellous, particularly in this land of credulity and superstition. He seems to suggest that it did not matter if all such paper trusts became mere scraps of paper—somehow good will come of them if only to expose the shallow veniality of such a policy.

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#### A speech.

Of the line of such shocks administered to the credulous people of India the latest is the most impudent. Sir Robert Watson-Smythe, the retiring President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce—the premier and most influential body of European interests in this country—took the opportunity of his farewell address to voice forth the views of his constituents on the admittedly difficult position of political India. Sir Robert's effort plays up true to the slogan "death to cant and hypocrisy"—thereby meaning to say "let us publish forthwith what we exactly feel, stick to our attitude and fight for its recognition." We congratulate Sir Robert Watson Smythe—and through him the interests he represents—on the frank and unexceptionable manner in which he has treated the thorny subject. For once he has forsaken the traditional policy of his race—the policy of muddling through truth and of covering awkward questionairs by abstract and vague sermons on the brotherhood of man. The declaration of August, 1917, supplemented by the Government of India Act of 1920 was a fitting consummation to a policy of pledges and concessions which never purported to read as the common average layman read them. They served

to provide a sort of whetting stone for the intellects of the Civilian Secretariat to stimulate them to discover and design effectively camouflaged versions of the pledges in order to guile the trusting souls that clamoured for clap-trap but which really covered up the trails of the *one* policy which has guided the rulers for the last century and a half. May we not hope that the ex-President of the Bengal Chamber has inaugurated a new policy, a new method of working—the policy of frank and open admissions of how one feels about it, the method of straight and, frontal attack to safeguard their inherent “birth rights”? It is true Sir Robert does not represent the Government of India for the Press has reported, simultaneously, statements by the responsible heads of the Government declaring their firm faith in responsive harmony of interests, in their sacred duty of teaching politics to the unlettered, in mutual benefits of co-operation and goodwill and forbearance. They still seem to emphasise on the sanctity of their mission of making the 300 millions of Indian people feel responsible for the political direction of their country’s destinies. Sir Robert Watson Smythe apparently does not believe in humbug and we take his lucid and clear statement in the responsible spirit in which he has uttered it. We have no reason to disbelieve his credentials; we do not see any reasons either to repudiate the contention made by a reputed Anglo-Indian journalist that his speech “indexed” the true attitude of the community of which he is an illustrious leader. Read in such a light Sir Robert’s speech assumes an importance far greater than either the Bardoli-Delhi resolutions or the confessions of Mr. Gandhi after the Chauri-Chaura affair.

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#### **Apotheosis of Boycott.**

For the better understanding of the political situation to-day, obviously it is worth while considering in some detail this new dogma and this new heresy propounded by the head of the British interests in India. Our first impression obtained by a casual reading of Sir Robert Watson Smythe’s speech was one of curious surprise at the confession made by the speaker in the efficacy of the boycott weapon. He seemed to say to his fellow-commercial-

ists : "You individually are too much engrossed in the art of making money. The surety plank of British dominance which secured your favourable monopoly for exploitation is slipping under you. You won't heed the danger signal. Very well, then. We the Bengal Chamber—your collective voice—must step in and interfere for your sake. In future all the member-firms must—simply must—partake of the political gruel served out—no matter if the taste be indifferent and nourishment weakly. And if you don't, you will do so at your cost : You will be deprived of all benefits the Chamber secures for you ; you will be ostracised." This is boycott-threat with a vengeance. So far *étre nous*.

Sir Robert next turns his attention to the Indian commercial classes. He has been piqued (aggressively, we fear) by the latest evidence given before the Fiscal Commission. It should be recollected that the Secretary of the Marwari Chamber put forward a definite charge against British houses that the latter almost always preferred dealing with European brokers even if their prices compared too high with those quoted by Indian firms. Sir Robert Watson Smythe, as President of the Bengal Chamber, had some futile correspondence with the Marwari Chamber, on the subject. He does not now in his speech deny the charge but advances reasons for the preference which would be convincing if his assumptions were correct. He says in effect—"you Indians, have not yet become commercially honest. You must expect to lose the custom of honest men as well." This is not all. Sir Robert has something else to say. He will hold out the warning to Indian business men that they must not dabble in politics (*pace* his advice to fellow British commercialists) and if they do we cannot go on being friends with you ; yes, we will refuse to deal with you, we will cut your custom." (A shiver of malice warned us against the touch of non-co-operation in Sir Robert's threat). Boycott again ! Non-co-operators and Congressmen will please note.

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Sir Robert Watson Smythe's sneer at the Reforms has stung the moderates to raucous rejoinders. We do not propose

to take notice of it for Reforms are still on the anvil, so to say; and any opinion passed on their merits, must needs proceed to a large extent upon individual judgment of the scheme itself and not from the facts of practical working. We have our opinions on the subject, which possibly lean dangerously near Sir Robert's. But the sneer was unworthy of a man of his standing. For the sake of his personal reputation it would have been well had he omitted to embellish his remarks with the illconcealed contempt which one habitually finds amongst the class to which Sir Robert emphatically does not belong. It amused us by the way to read that such Moderate stalwarts as Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and Sir Krishna Gupta have taken a leaf out of Sir Robert's book and in their rejoinders have held out the threat to join hands with the extremists if Sir Robert does not improve his manners. We do not know if Sir K. G. Gupta or Mr. Basu wished the President of the Bengal Chamber to embrace the cult of the Reform-Prophecy with its concomitant need of camouflage and to keep to himself his impressions of the straddling growth of the now one-year-old repulsive-looking Montague "Body". We are afraid the honours remain with Sir Watson Smythe and he could ply his cards well if he wished to.

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### Racial Equality?

But Sir Robert to use a colloquialism, was taking through his hat when he touched the delicate issue of racial equality. We wish to ignore his gratuitous references, polished out of the meanest attitude, to the value of a Sikh regiment officered by Bengali Babus or the "acknowledged expertness of the Asiatic at playing the liar" for we consider them unworthy of notice. We will also withstand the temptation to indulge in *tu quo que* arguments. But when he points out the proposition that there is no such thing as racial equality we should pause and weigh well his arguments in support of this denial. He asks us to look at America, at Australia, at South Africa, and to be quite up-to-date, at Kenya—none of these people recognise racial equality. It is a contradiction, a contrariness of terms,

says Sir Robert, and cannot bear the scrutiny of history. He does not hesitate to call this doctrine a humbug and a cant.

To be perfectly dispassionate we admit at the outset that there cannot be any such thing as racial equality in Nature's vocabulary. We will go further and say that there is no such thing as human equality—the quality of equalness between one man and another, even if they belong to the same race. But the doctrine of *equality before law* has got to be accepted if true democracy is to be attained. There can be no privileges or special rights in a court of law if justice is to be impartially dealt out. The value of equality assumes shape therefore in the domain of politics. If law were to enact that the bald headed men found guilty of murder were to be hanged but men with a respectful crop of hair on their cranium and likewise found guilty of murder were to be let off with a warning, the law would soon become a farce and we are sure Sir Robert will join us in demanding from the Legislature an immediate repeal of such differential legislation. Yet this is exactly how the President of the Bengal Chamber has pegged out his claim for special inequalities to be preserved on the statute book. He has confused in a most blundering fashion—or is it quite deliberate?—natural equality with the doctrine of equality before law. The plea and the unequivocal demand of the Indian people is this equality of all races in the eyes of the law—a plea which has been strengthened by the ignominious abuse of special privileges granted to aliens in the country.

There is another aspect. A reputed contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* puts the query this wise:—"The co-existence of natural equality with political equality assumes that intelligence is of positive value, a yardstick by which human worth is to be measured. But is this a just estimate of the importance of intelligence in community life? The answer is in the negative, for defects of will, uncontrolled impulses, wayward desires, consuming egotism bring at least as many to disaster as does defective intelligence. . . Moral qualities are, not the perquisite of any particular level of intelligence. May we therefore conclude that we can get along without good minds if we can only cultivate good wills?"

Let us grant all that Sir Robert Watson Smythe says as to

the alleged inferiorities of the Indian people; we may also accede to the superior-person theory of the Britisher. Does it at all follow that inequalities of efficiency, differences of colour, race-hatred and arrogance should be reflected in the common law of the land? Sacrifice the bald headed man by all means but preserve the man with head full of hair even if his crime be most heinous! Sir Robert here missed the link in his argument. He should have appealed to Eugenics and not fatuously damn political democracy which, after all that is said and done, does not care a rap for his sneering contempt.

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#### Sir Robert's Joke.

Sir Robert ends his high fatutin' in grand style. He wants us the people of the land not to forget that we are twisting the lion's tail; he wants the lion to show his teeth at once and not wait till the twist has become awkward. Both sound advices which the protagonists, we hope, will take to mind. But he goes on to ponderous deliberations and considerately tells us not to baulk the lion of his prey—"let him have his usual feed of you; and if you do not, your whole house of Dreams will be razed to the ground. The hard-fibre brush of the most determined nation in the world will sweep all your Reformers and legislators into the dustbin. And finally we will not get out, we will not be juggled out of our birth-right, we will not relinquish the heritage which our fathers won with their best blood" (This *birth right* stunt is extremely precious)..... You are joking Sir Robert or perhaps getting into old-maidenly hysterics and we will cry *Besta* in the good old Corsican style.

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As we go to press we read that Sir Robert Watson Smythe has withdrawn his generalisations *re* racial equality. His remarks should be interpreted to apply to one section only of the Indian people. A benevolent friend characterises this withdrawal as a sort of *amende honorable*, but we are afraid Sir Robert has done a disservice by disclaiming the frankness of his attitude and that of his compeers whose minds he indexed out in a truly valiant style. By taking shelter under the very

cant and hypocrisy of words against which he had entered so emphatic a protest Sir Robert sacrifices truth to Policy. However we will not withhold our congratulations and our gratitude to him for making us see ourselves as others see us. At any rate now we know where we are, and how we stand.

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#### **The departure of Mr. Montagu.**

The news of Mr. Montagu's resignation consequent upon a breach of Cabinet etiquette has been hailed by the diehards and the non-co-operators in a strikingly similar language. To one party his departure from Whitehall signifies the end of the reign of supine inactivity; to the other, it connotes the triumph of the one and supreme policy of the foreign office where India is concerned, shorn as it will be for the nonce, with Mr. Montagu's departure, of platitude and cant and camouflage. While appreciating the two viewpoints (not ignoring the wail of the Moderate Reformers) we fail to see what exact difference the change at the India Office will imply. It has never done so in the past except raise false expectations or strike unreasonable panics. Nothing new has intervened to tell us that it will portend any in the near future.

WHIP.

## INDIA AND PROTECTION.\*

It is urgently necessary that in India a modern industrial system should be established so that, as far as possible, in essential requirements the country should be independent of foreign sources of supply. I am, therefore, in favour of any measures, including protective import duties, that will help us to achieve this object.

The present sources of revenue are inadequate to meet the cost of administration and as new forms of direct taxation are not likely to yield the amount that is required whilst they are bound to be extremely unpopular, there seems to be no alternative but to impose import duties primarily for revenue purposes. There is no practical limit to the expenditure which the Imperial and Provincial Governments might judiciously incur if funds were available. The revenue duties should, therefore, be framed to bring in the maximum return.

It would, I think, be advantageous to render the Imperial Government as far as possible independent of Provincial contributions and this might be effected by a scientifically devised revenue tariff. Indian States, not unnaturally, are claiming to participate in customs revenue and it is certain that their financial obligations to the Government of India will have to be readjusted, as the revenue tariff I advocate will mean a large increase in indirect taxation which will reduce their resources and render it difficult for them to meet the increase in their expenditure necessary to maintain a standard of administration comparable with the British Provinces alongside them. I consider it is possible to very greatly increase the revenue by increasing the import duties; but I am not in favour of a uniform tariff. With but few exceptions, rates should be fixed so as to obtain the maximum return.

The extent to which a revenue tariff will stimulate industrial development is uncertain and depends largely upon the rate of exchange. It may, I think, be anticipated that a revenue tariff

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\*Note submitted to the Indian Fiscal Commission.

will restrict importations to some extent and this will tend to create a balance of trade favourable to India and to the establishment therefore of a high rate of exchange. On the other hand, the high rate of exchange will tend to reduce exports certainly in value as expressed in rupees, if not in volume. The effect of high import duties therefore will to some extent be discounted by the rise in the value of the rupee. From this I draw the conclusion that import duties for revenue purposes may be very largely increased without seriously affecting the price of imported goods. The initial rise may be considerable; but it will gradually disappear as the rate of exchange increases. The rupee is the real unit in which comparative estimates of labour values are made and the greater its exchange value, the greater we may take it is the exchange value of Indian labour relative to that of any other country. It is therefore desirable that it should have a high rather than a low value.

I am wholly opposed to the levy of Excise duties as vexatious and inequitable except where it is necessary to control the trade, and to any kind of restriction on the establishment of industries in the country with outside capital. The public interests demand an effective internal competition to secure efficiency in industry and prevent the growth of monopolistic tendencies.

India will never obtain a well-balanced industrial system till attention is directed to the Mechanical Engineering industries to a much greater extent than has hitherto been the case. I am therefore totally opposed to specially favourable tariffs for iron and steel machinery and plant. The mills, factories and other industrial undertakings that enjoy the benefit of a revenue tariff can well afford to pay import duties on the same scale for their machinery and plant. I have considered the special case of machinery for agriculture, the use of which, I admit, it is very desirable to encourage; but this end is more likely to be reached when such machinery is locally made than when it is imported. No exception, therefore, is necessary.

In as much as our object should be to promote industrial enterprise I would not handicap undertakings which have already placed contracts for machinery and plant on the present basis of taxation by compelling them to pay unexpected increases for

import duties—This would especially apply to electric light power schemes which work under contracts and at rates determined by their concessions.

It is essential that the engineering industries should be developed and to achieve this, they should at least enjoy the same measure of protection as the manufacturing industries. If more than this is necessary, I should be in favour of even higher duties as it is a vital matter to the safety of the country that it should cease to be dependent on a base 6,000 miles away, the line of communications with which is so extremely vulnerable. Similarly, it is necessary to develop our coal fields and our sources of water power and I would not admit foreign coal free of duty into the country except for bunkering. A cheap local supply of fuel is desirable; but in the long run, fuel and power will be cheapest if the local resources are properly and efficiently developed.

The Sugar industry in India is in need of special treatment and this is recognised already by the 15% duty levied on imported sugar. India ought to be self-supporting in the matter of sugar; but this can only be effected by weaning the ryots from their wasteful methods of converting the cane into jaggery. The duties on sugar might well be 50% instead of 15% and there should be a heavy duty on molasses. This would help to bring home the advantages of a more perfect method of extraction combined with suitable purification or refinement. The manufacture of jaggery or gur entails a total loss to India of at least thirty crores a year and possibly more. To eliminate this waste and at the same time obtain a substantial increment to the revenues makes an overwhelming case for enhanced sugar duties.

The Silk industry in India might also be greatly expanded by analogous treatment. But no Fiscal policy will alone achieve this end. It is for the Departments of Industries and Agriculture to initiate the improvements which are possible. Protective duties will only protect when they impede imports and their justification can only be ensured when suitable measures are taken in India to obtain the object in view.

I regard export duties as only justifiable when applied to materials, the supply of which from India is a controlling factor in

the world markets or when it is necessary to restrict exports. Temporary export duties on wheat or rice are, I think, preferable to partial or complete prohibition.

With revenue duties imposed to yield a maximum return it will be possible to grant imperial preference more by special terms for certain classes of imports than by a small general reduction in the tariff. It is desirable for instance that aluminium should be produced in India; but till the Indian market is larger, it will hardly pay to set up works. To encourage the use of the metal in India and to support the British Empire industry, the metal from the British Isles and Canada should be admitted free till production is possible in India and then the local industry should receive such measure of protection as the circumstances demand. Similar methods might be pursued with other possible electro-chemical industries. There is no question but that dye stuffs of British origin should receive preferential treatment. Whoever secures the Indian market in dye stuffs will secure the pre-eminence in the world in that branch of Industrial Chemistry and obviously it should not be allowed to remain in Germany without a serious effort to capture the Empire trade.

ALFRED CHATTERTON.

## HOW TO EVOLVE A BETTER WORLD.

### A call from America.

The problem of rebuilding our world is the problem of the harmonious adjustment and the co-ordination of production, distribution and consumption. Our civilization is bound to crash because its permanence depends upon the creation of artificial demands, upon production not co-ordinated to distribution, upon distribution not co-ordinated to consumption. The propelling force of our civilization is competition, not co-operation. In a word ours is not a civilization, it is a speculation, involving chance profits to the rarest few, chance losses to the many, wholesale inequality and suffering to the community at large. Ours is an age of machinery, and machinery has quite naturally divided the community into two broad classes: the machinery owners and the machinery operators. The products are consumed by both, but the machinery owners are in a favorable condition—they can exploit, and the machinery operators have no other go but to be exploited. The oft-repeated adage of Lincoln obtains in the American democracy and yet America needs rebuilding: the government here is a government of the people, that is, of the consumers; for the people, that is, for the producers; by the people, that is, by the owners of the forces of production.

Society is a living organism, and like all organisms it is subject to changes. Thus from primitive anarchism, society developed—did it not also degenerate?.....into barbarism, from barbarism into despotism, from despotism into feudalism, from feudalism into capitalism. From capitalism the current seems to be flowing toward socialism—and naturally; from socialism in times to come with which we are not concerned now, society is sure to relapse into anarchism. I do not pigeonhole socialism into any definite creed or dogma. By socialism in the broad sense I merely mean the elimination of the “profit motive” in industry, the substitution of co-operation for competition in society, and the proper adjustment of the forces of production, distribution and consumption.

There are to-day three programs launched, all of which are

contributing their quota toward the evolving of a better world : Dictatorship, Co-operation and Non-Co-operation.

(i) *Soviet Russia and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*

The world has not yet ceased rubbing its eyes at the magnitude of the tremendous epoch-making phenomena in Russia. Here are a couple of hundred million people oppressed and exploited by the autocratic czarist regime. Secret underground societies spring up. The youthful spirits, ardent visionaries of a new social order in Russia, are dedicating their lives to the cause of educating the masses, whose illiteracy is colossal. They carry on propaganda, they organize strikes, they are exiled, they travel from country to country, from continent to continent ; and at last on a beautiful day, right in the midst of the throes and agonies of the war, the czar is expelled and the state is captured by the owners of the forces of production with the aid of the producers. Long suffering has taught them that the petty bourgeois is the petty czar, and so the producers paralyze and weaken the bourgeois government and capture the state.

The program of the producers : Capture of the state, by "All Power to the Soviets;" Dictatorship of the Proletariat ; Utilization of the machinery of state by strict organization and discipline. Russia's goal as outlined and promised by the Communists is "Land to the Peasants," "Factories to the Workers" and "Peace to All the World." Politics are so intertwined with economics that the capture of the state is the *sine qua non* of the successful introduction of any socio-economic reform. The Communist party did this. They captured the state and have been holding it for the last four years. Having captured the state, they argue, "We cannot afford to have any reactionary or counter-revolutionary in our midst. If such there be, they shall have no voice in the management of the affairs of the people. We are absolutely for the good of the people : *we are the people.*" Hence their Dictatorship. One cannot reasonably quarrel with such a strong attitude. You have not to obey orders superimposed upon you by others—you have merely to impose upon yourself a Dictatorship of yourself for your own good. If you can identify yourself with the Bolsheviks (the majority) in this attitude, you get along very well ; if not, you are doomed. If

the Dictatorship of the Proletariat relaxes its tight grip just a little, the Russian Revolution will collapse the very next day. To secure the fruits of the Revolution for posterity, the Communists are enforcing strict labor discipline—regular bureaucratic methods without the taint of a bureaucracy, as in India !

Is Land secured to the Peasants ? Are Factories secured to the Workers ? Is Peace secured to All the World ? Soviet Russia has not yet carried out to the full any of these. She is not at all to blame. What little she has achieved in the face of tremendous odds speaks highly for her. The Capitalistic States did not want to recognize, nor did they want to trade with, a Communist State. They stirred up trouble for Soviet Russia, the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. Blockade, insufficient, inefficient means of communication, lack of provisions, wars and battles, lack of appliances, mechanical and medical, starvation, disease and famine : these dark clouds have been looming ominous on Red Russia ever since its inception ! And yet Russia is marching triumphantly to her goal ! She has had to make compromises—yes, she did—but the torch she has lit shall carry its red flame all over the world. Soviet Russia stands for Industrial Democracy, saying that all political representation is a fraud and a humbug. Soviet Russia is eliminating the "profit motive" in industry by nationalizing the means of production ; Soviet Russia aims at "no indemnity, no annexation and self-determination to all the nations of the world." The Soviet is not a hybrid product : it is an indigenous institution of the land. Bolshevism did not make the revolution ; the revolution made the Bolsheviks. The revolution is not the product of Lenin ; Lenin is the product of the revolution, which does not date from 1917 nor from 1905 but from well-nigh a century past. The world is immensely interested in the mighty experiment of the simple folks of Russia.

(2) *Western Europe and Co-operation.* The west of Europe does not like Russia's methods, even though it may sympathize with her ideals. This, however, ought to be made clear : that the violent methods used by Russia are not characteristically Russian : they are hers by necessity, not by choice. It is remarkable that the violent methods of Russia are characteristic of the West as a whole—shall one say they are the climax of

*Christian civilization?* The rest of Europe does not like Russia's methods, may be because she is so successfully using their methods! That, however, is by the way.

Europe to-day is in bankruptcy. The last war has toppled down crown and scepter. The social system is disrupted. It is all confusion—instability. Who knows, this perhaps may be the last of the much boasted civilization of Europe! But there is a faint glimmer of light twinkling in between these dark, dismal clouds of chaos in Europe. Russia has found her moorings in the Soviets; where are the moorings in the rest of Europe—in one word, the Co-operative Movement.

The Co-operative Movement aims at righting the economic wrongs of the present Capitalistic Society. It has nothing to do with political manœuvring. It first organizes the people as consumers. This constituency of consumers supplies itself with clean, reliable goods at market prices. But the profit does not go to the middle-man as in private business. Here the profit is accumulated. Part of it goes to defray the expenses of educating the people, part goes as dividends. This constituency is different from the rest of Society, in so far as it is both a consumer and a distributor. Nay, in due course of time, this self-same constituency becomes a producer. In Soviet Russia the producers who are the government, produce, the consumers who are the government, consume, and the government which is the people, distributes. A highly efficient and advanced Co-operative Society is at once a *consumer*, a *producer*, and a *distributor*. The Co-operative Movement does not deny the order of things established by Capitalism; in fact, it takes the present Capitalistic order as its basis. In the beginning it accepts Capitalism with a view to destroying it in the end. A gradual process, a slow development—but a sure pathway. Sovietism makes a clean cut of Capitalism in the very beginning by denying it. If Capitalism persists in asserting itself, Sovietism destroys it—aye, even by violent methods! Overwhelmed by Capitalistic hounds, Soviet Russia sounds the bugle to truce; she makes a compromise and marches on as merrily as before. Soviet Russia had no other course but to make the shortest cut of Capitalism, awaiting the future developments. And the rest of Europe can-

not very well take a leaf out of Russia's book. The past convulsions of which there were legion, had unfitted the other nations of Europe for a titanic revolution like Russia's. Their pathway is sure, though long; their goal is the same, though far away.

The Co-operative Movement has attained the highest pitch of efficiency in Germany. The German efficiency and genius are being brought to bear on this important economic question of society; how to organize the raw materials efficiently, how to manufacture them efficiently, how to distribute them equitably, how to consume them properly. The War made of Germany a wreck. She would have found a bottom in the ocean of chaos; but the Co-operative Movement held. In small countries like Holland or Denmark, the Socialists do not quarrel as to whether they represent the left wing or the right; they are co-operationists. This industrial system organized with a view to removing the wrongs incidental to capitalism, is entirely immune from political strifes and squabbles. It is non-political in character and is not dependent for its existence upon the success of one party or another in government. If the political machinery does not intervene, the co-operative movement promises to carry us along the self-same path to a stage when no governments will be needed.

But politics, as I said before, are closely intertwined with economics; more so in the West. Hence the nations of Europe cannot afford to sit silent while their political bosses lose sight of the direction in the midst of a storm. We are organized through and through by politics. In the twentieth century we can ill afford to keep away from politics. The Labor Parties or the Socialist Parties of the various countries have put forth their political programs, too. The most conspicuous among them is the program of the British Labor Party. The underlying principle of their program is the same as Soviet Russia's; with this difference, that they eschew all violence—and dictatorship. They will capture the State—yes, they will—not by any violence, however, but by the ballot. They will organize the people as workers—workers either by hand or by brain—educate them, make them class-conscious and at the Parliamentary

election capture the power from the bourgeoisie. An intensive educational program, not violence. They will have no Dictatorship. So long as they are in power they will work for the benefit of the workers. So long as they are retained in power, they will carry on their program of emancipating the workers from wage-slavery. They will nationalize mines, industries, etc.—not by force, though. They will run the machinery of State, so long as the people have confidence in them. From first to last, for their success, they depend upon efficient labor discipline. This, in brief, is the solution of the domestic problem. What about the international problems, with which England is notoriously complicated? It is not good taste to impute bad motives to a re-construction program like the British Labor Party's! Suffice it to say that the English laborite is more radical at home but more conservative and Imperialistic abroad than the laborite of any other country. The International—well, no matter whether the British Labor Party wills it or not—the International will realize its ideal of the one community of humanity, of the universal brotherhood of man!

In this program, there is compromise with the present order of society; there is co-operation with the existing political machinery. By co-operation and good will, they mean to capture the State; by co-operation and good will, they mean to retain the State in their hands; by co-operation and good will, they mean to evolve a better world for the British worker. We shall certainly be interested in the success of that program. With their genius for politics, it is expected, the British people may make this program a grand success.

(3) *India and Non-Co-operation.* What can be attained by co-operation with the political State in England can be attained in India only by non-co-operation with the present political machinery. In a way, India's problems are more complicated than the problems of Russia or the rest of Europe; and in a way, they are simpler. The problem of problems confronting India is: How to get rid of the British occupation of the land? Seventy-five per cent. of the present ills of India are of her own making; twenty-five per cent. are due to the British domination in the land. Disunited, they fought and fell—Hindu with

Hindu, Mohammedan with Mohammedan, Hindu with Mohammedan. Provincial feelings, racial jealousies, caste prejudices, unstable political conditions in the eighteenth century made it easy for Englishmen to make themselves masters of India—the flag follows trade. It is no use abusing the one or the other party; let nature test out the result—the fittest shall survive. England's aggressiveness is unpardonable; India's weakness in these days is condemnable. For a period of 160 years, India has been under British rule; two-thirds of India under direct British rule, one-third being under feudatory Indian princes. The darkest period in Indian history! India, who boasts of her high civilization, of the Vedas, of the Upanishads, of the Puranas, of Buddha, of Ashoka, of Vikrama, of Kalidas, of Akbar, of the Taj Mahal, fell into the hands of commercial brigands, of adventurous upstarts, who had no moral scruples, who paralyzed Indian industries, who discouraged the spread of education among the people, who by heavy taxation, that is, by robbery, organized and civilized, made the richest country in the world the poorest! Economically India has been bled white, industrially she has been crippled, politically she has been wrecked, morally she been stunted, physically dwarfed—these are a few of the many beneficent results of British Imperialism in India! But for these ills, India has to thank none but herself. Why was she so disunited? Why was she not organized? Why did she co-operate with the exploiting foreigners? Why did she not have the courage to refuse to co-operate with a foreign government in oppressing herself?

In these searching questions lies hidden the solution of the Indian problem. The people realize their past errors and are ready to correct them. The consciousness of national unity has broken down the caste barriers and provincial prejudices. They had refused to be fellow-brothers in prosperity, now they are with alacrity organizing themselves as fellow-sufferers in poverty. The insults and humiliations inflicted upon the people, the discrimination between the Indians and the Englishmen, among others, are the chief causes of Indian unrest. India's self-respect is being assaulted; India is seething with discontent.

The breach of promise to the Indian Mohammedans by the

British Cabinet in the matter of the Khilafat, the partition of Turkey, and the unprovoked massacre of innocent, unarmed people (in Amritsar, April, 1919)—men, women and children—precipitated the volcanic eruption of the Indian Unrest. August 1, 1920, is a Red Letter Day in the history of India; this day on which the Uncrowned Prince of India, B. G. Tilak, died, was launched the Non-Co-operation Program by Mahatma Gandhi. In September, 1920, the Indian National Congress met in an extraordinary session in Calcutta under the presidency of Lajpat Rai and ratified the Non-Co-operation Program.

The Non-Co-operation Movement is a unique movement in the world's history; it aims at attaining the objective without any bloodshed, without the use of any violent methods. It is a spiritual substitute for war. India is making a novel experiment—we are all interested in its success. The program is based on the recognition of the fact that *the exploiters exploit the exploited not so much by the force of the bayonet alone, as by the co-operation, active or passive, by the help, willing or unwilling, of the exploited themselves.* Let the exploited classes the world over realize this fact, and let them organize themselves and non-co-operate with the exploiting machinery of another class or of the government, as the case may be. To the degree to which non-violence is practised in thought, word and deed, to that degree is success assured. Gandhi's movement is a determined protest against the current conception of the West that Brute Force alone counts for success. India is endeavouring to demonstrate the eternal truth that Moral Force is superior to Brute Force.

The Technic of the Non-Co-operation Program (this is the first attempt at definitely stating India's program. So far as I know, no Indian leader has as yet definitely outlined the various stages of development): I. "Withering" away of the Imperialistic, bureaucratic State by peaceful, non-violent Non-Co-operation with it. II. To that end: organizing public opinion; creating Panchayats (Councils of the Five), authorized to function for the social, political, economic betterment of the community; affiliating the Panchayats to the All-India Congress, which body will thereby automatically assume the status of a Quasi-Socio-Political-State. III. The Quasi-State gradually and inevitably

will take the place of the alien bureaucratic State. IV. Retention and utilization of State by organized public opinion, by the ballot—the gradual elimination of the handful of the bourgeoisie. V. Efficient, organized discipline to weed out entirely the roots of Capitalism and to operate the State—the government of the producers, for the consumers, by the distributors. VI. Harmonious adjustment of the economic forces the world over. VII. Peace and Good Will toward all—the New Era of Universal Peace.

Such, in brief, is the outline of the Indian program. It takes no cognizance of the ugly things, called Armaments which are the very symbol of present-day Western civilization. Not economic betterment, but spiritual uplift of humanity is the prime urge back of the movement.

Is such a program possible of attainment? Yes!—save for a few spasmodic armed attempts, the peaceful revolution of India is going on by leaps and bounds. Parents are not co-operating with Government schools, colleges and universities, and are sending their children to national institutions. Lawyers are suspending their practice in the government law courts, and people's arbitration courts are springing up everywhere.

Titles are being renounced by the title-holders, on the plea that the government which conferred these upon them has forfeited their respect and confidence. People are boycotting British goods and are giving a strong impulse to home industries. In lieu of the British machine-made, fine cotton goods, to-day people are putting on coarse Khadi, produced by the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. People are non-co-operating with the government by refusing to serve in any government position, whether civil or military. Very soon they will launch the program of civil disobedience on the plea that "it is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right." "No taxation without representation" is another plank in their platform; they will refuse to pay taxes to an alien government, which is not a government of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people. The "sundried" British bureaucrat has already realized that a peaceful "withering" away of the State in India is not an impossibility.

A word in regard to the constructive part to be played by the Panchayats. Just as the Soviets are the spontaneous growth of the Russian soil, so are the Panchayats the spontaneous growth of the Indian soil. From times immemorial, the population has been rural rather than urban. To-day 80 per cent. of the population is rural and about the same percentage is agricultural. The villages have always had a Panchayat of their own. The Panchayat consists of five prominent persons elected by the village community to supervise and safe-guard their interests. In the West the tendency in government is toward centralization, in India toward decentralization. The village community has always—prior to the British occupation of India—enjoyed an autonomous self-government. The village community is a perfect unity in itself : it maintains its own carpenters, smiths, physicians, merchants, traders, laborers, teachers, weavers—in fact, all crafts and occupations necessary to the maintenance of civilized society. In the Panchayat used to be vested the powers of the legislature, of the executive, of the judiciary and of the police. A number of villages would form a district, a number of districts would form a bigger unit and so on, administration being based on the federal principle of government. The government at the top may change hands, but the village communities would remain undisturbed. This excellent democratic institution, suited to the needs of India, was destroyed by the British. Now it is being revived ; now it is being affiliated to the All-India Congress. If the Panchayat in each village takes up—and it is expected that it will take up—the additional function of the Co-operative Credit Societies (started by the British Government), then it will be a tremendous force in the life of the community. The mighty British Empire, upheld by super-dreadnoughts, by machine-guns and by aeroplanes, will wither away under the scorching sun of a community of two thousand people in a single village in India ! “All Powers to the Panchayats !”—let this slogan be carried out and the Indian Revolution is consummated ; a new chapter will have been written in the history of the world !

## THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

"The Far Eastern Republic is not a camouflaged Bolshevism; it is not a cat's paw for the Soviet power at Moscow. It is an independent republic with the nearest approach to the most pure democratic government that has ever been attempted in the East."

Thus spoke to me Mr. A. F. Agaraff, President of the Political Mission of the Far Eastern Republic to China, a few days before I left Peking. And since then I have travelled considerably in the Far East, and had opportunity to learn of the actual conditions of the country that Mr. Agaraff represents in Peking.

The Far Eastern Republic has its seat of government at Chita in Siberia. Chita lies east of the Lake Baikal, and is about 1,150 miles west of Vladivostock.

With all its faults, and they are many, the Chita government is sincere in its desire to promote education in the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. "Fight the Illiteracy" is the slogan of the new nation. It has made education free and compulsory for all children beginning at the age of eight. They are also provided with food. The government has an ambitious educational program; but on account of limited means it is not able to do in the field of education all it intends to do. The ideal of the Young Republic is to make all grades of education—from the elementary schools up to the university—absolutely free.

Already much has been accomplished to spread education among the masses by the introduction of a new uniform school system. It covers a period of nine years and is divided into two schools: the first or lower school of five years, and the second or higher school of four years.

"In the lower school," writes an American journalist in a recent issue of *The Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo), "are required five years of the native language, mathematics, freehand drawing, manual training and singing. In the second year are added three hours a week of natural science which amount is increased by

four hours of laboratory work the following year and by an additional hour in the fifth year. Geography and history come in the third year and elementary sociology during the last two.

"First grade teachers handle all subjects, but in the other grade it is planned to have individual teachers for each subject. A most interesting provision is that natural science is to be taught in the lower school as one subject and must not be divided into physics, botany, zoology, etc., as separate studies.

"In addition to these subjects formally taught, gymnastics and games are to receive seven hours a week and on one day of each week excursions, students' meetings, debates, and literary competitions are to take the place of the regular schedule.

"In the higher school, subjects are required to be covered during the four years as follows : Russian language and literature, 16 hours ; psychology, two hours ; History, Russian and general, 12 hours, of civilization, two hours, political economic and social, three hours, and art, two hours ; mathematics through analytical geometry, 17 hours ; biology eight hours ; physics, 11 hours ; chemistry, five hours ; geography and physiography, eight hours ; astronomy, two hours ; hygiene, three hours ; drawing and drafting, eight hours ; manual training, eight hours ; singing, music and gymnastics, eight hours ; and French, English or German, 20 hours."

The promotion of social well-being has been one of the main concerns of the Chita Republic. It has an interesting department known as that of statistics and social welfare. It has to do with problems of social insurance. Now the forms of insurance include health insurance, unemployment insurance, industrial accident insurance, risk insurance, old age, and maternity insurance. The expenses of the social insurance are met by requiring all employers of labour, including the government, to pay to the Ministry of Labour, ten per cent of the pay-roll every month.

The problem of unemployment has not yet assumed serious proportions. The government tries to employ all who are without jobs and pay for their labour. But when money is scarce, the workingmen are given, at least, their food and necessary clothing.

Another department which is doing creditable work is that of public health. Though there is little sickness, medical attendance when needed is free to peasants and workers. "All drug stores have been nationalized and the dispensation of drugs is wholly under government supervision."

Contrary to the general impression, it appears that the Far Eastern Republic is not altogether Bolshevik or Communistic. There are many things to indicate that the Republic is a believer in the institution of private property. It is quite true that railways and mines, and lands have been declared to be the property of the national government; but this is because it loathes to see the country exploited by unscrupulous private Capitalists for the benefit of their own pockets. Nationalization, to a certain extent, is considered as indispensable means of national self-preservation. The people in the Asiatic Russia are economically much better off than those of European Russia. It does not, therefore, seem possible that this new Republic will travel into the dangerous paths of Communism.

The Far Eastern Republic, which extends from the Lake Baikal to the Pacific, comprises four Siberean provinces excluding the Maritime Province. It has set up a government of its own at Vladivostock under somewhat precarious conditions, for the Japanese garrison has the absolute control over the district. In area, the Far Eastern Republic is approximately as large as Germany; but the total population of the country is only about 2,000,000. Moreover, there is a great lack of homogeneity in the peoples of the Russian Far East, they being Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Koreans, Tartars, and Buriat-Mongol tribes. They represent a heterogeneous mass. Nevertheless, there is no attempt to weld them together by artificial means. In contrast to the American policy of "Americanizing" the diverse elements of the population into a homogeneous whole, the Chita government is "fostering the national Cultures of the various national groups," and is encouraging them to live their own lives in their own way.

The Siberian seems to be a lover of simple democracy. Here is a snap-shot view of his government, which was organized only in the spring of 1920. According to the Constitution, the

sovereignty is vested in the people who exercise this power through a parliament known as the national assembly. It is an unicameral body. The members of the assembly are elected for two years by universal, secret, and direct votes of all persons over twenty years of age. There are no sex, property or educational tests for suffrage.

The national assembly elects the "government" which is a committee of seven members. They have collectively the powers similar to those of the President of the United States. There is a chairman or president of the committee, of course; but the president is a figurehead, more or less. In the first place, let it be clear, he is not the president of the Far Eastern Republic, but only of the government. In the second place, he has only one vote which does not count more than the vote of the six other members of the committee.

The government, in its turn, appoints the cabinet or ministry, which now consists of fifteen members. It is doubtless the first attempt in the history of the Eastern world to apply the commission form of government on a large national scale.

The name of the president is Mr. Kraschnechekov. The story of his life is full of thrilling adventures. He was born in Kief, Southern Russia, and emigrated to America about sixteen years ago. He was known in the United States as Tobelson or Tobinson. He made his home in the city of Chicago where he earned his living by working as a painter and decorator. Being an ambitious youth, he devoted his spare moments in studying law and editing a newspaper in Russian. In course of time, he was admitted to the bar, and practised law for two years. Just then he heard of the Czarist revolution. At once the Chicago lawyer sailed for Russia by way of Pacific. He landed in Vladivostock in 1917, and threw himself into the struggle to secure a free government for Siberia. To-day he is generally considered as one of the chief makers of the Far Eastern Republic. In Washington official circles there has been of late considerable comment on the fact that this semi-American is at the helm in Chita. Is Kraschnechekov still a citizen of the United States?

The story of the founding of the Eastern Republic began

with the allied intervention in Siberia in 1918. The Allies went there, as will be remembered, with a two-fold purpose. They went to rescue Czechs trapped in Siberia, and also to prevent the Soviet government from extending its influence eastward. These objects were speedily realized. The Czechs were delivered from the war-tormented Russia, and Bolshevism was halted at the Lake Baikal. And a year ago the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia was organized as a buffer state between Russia and Japan.

Now, America and England have withdrawn their troops, but Japan alone has its forces in Siberia. Japan still controls Vladivostok, the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, and the only port of Siberia. The Maritime Province with its Vladivostock, in the hands of Japan, is considered by the Chita government a dagger aimed at the heart of the Far Eastern Republic.

I was given to understand by some of the highest officials of the Japanese government in China, Manchuria, as well as in Japan, that a permanent occupation of Siberia is not contemplated by the government of the Mikado. All that it wants is peace and order to the end that it can develop its commercial interests unhindered. "Japan's policy," they all repeated in perfect unanimity, "is peaceful penetration of trade. It does not favor territorial aggression." That's well said! But so far all the diplomatic fences of the Chita government with Tokio have failed to secure the evacuation of Siberian territory by the Japanese army. Siberia means for Japan immense reservoir of natural resources. It is believed that Tokio is willing to make a settlement with Chita only on the basis of far-reaching economic concessions. That is the root of the whole trouble! Against such concessions Chita's stand is unequivocal.

The Far Eastern Republic is not yet recognized by any government except that of the Soviet. A little while ago the Chita authorities made overtures to the American government for recognition, and also for participation in the Pacific Conference at Washington. The result was that the American Secretary of State, Honorable Charles E. Hughes, announced the dispatch of an official observer to the Far Eastern Republic's

capital Chita, Mr. J. K. Caldwell, American consul at Kobe. Mr. Caldwell is accompanied by a second American expert on Oriental affairs, Mr. Edward B. Thomas, American vice-consul at Harbin. While informing the Chita government that the United States would observe things diplomatically in their country, Mr. Hughes declared that "the protection of legitimate Russian interests must develop as a moral trusteeship upon the whole Conference" and that "it is the hope and expectation of the government of the United States that the Conference will establish general principles of international action which will deserve and have the support of the people of Eastern Siberia and of all Russia by reason of their justice and efficacy in the settlement of outstanding difficulties."

The fact is that in spite of the protestation of the Chita government that it is a "non-Communistic democracy," the United States is not convinced that the Far Eastern Republic is neither "red" nor under the domination of Moscow. Indeed, the Chita Republic is under suspicion. Several of its officials have been closely identified with the Russian Soviet government. For instance, President Kraschnechekov and the Minister of Communications Shatov were at one time hand-in-glove with the Lenin-Trotzky regime.

Nevertheless America is interested in the maintainance of the Far Eastern Republic. The reason is not altogether altruistic, but rather selfish. "The Chita Republic is the one bulwark," states an American diplomatic commentator in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, "against any permanent aggressions the Japanese might attempt to carry out in Siberia. It contains Russia's only outlets to the Pacific and is her one route to the non-Japanized far east from the vast hinterland to the west. With Japan in control of the maritime province of Siberia, the Pacific coast of the Far Eastern republic, all efforts by the United States navy to cope successfully with the Japanese fleet in the eastern Pacific would virtually be doomed in advance. With Siberian ports in friendly hands, a conversely favorable situation would exist". From this point of view, the perpetuation of the Far Eastern Republic is of military-strategic importance.

When the Pacific "principles and policies" came up for discussion in the Washington Conference, it was considered certain that the problem of the Far Eastern Republic will not be passed over lightly. At the same time bear this well in mind that with the lone exception of the United States, few other Western powers will be able to take a very highly moral attitude toward Nippon in the matter of grabbing slices of Asian territory. England seized Hongkong from China during the First Opium War, and I found during my recent visit that the English are building toward the clouds in Hongkong—building to stay permanently. England has also gulped Wei-Hai-Wei the naval port north of Tsingtau. That is not all. England has secured special sphere of influence in the Yang-Tse Valley, which lies at the very center of the Republic of China. The Chinese have been forced to promise not to lease or cede to any other nation in this great valley, which is sometimes called the world's greatest future market. France has swallowed up the immense territory of Indo-China, which in area is nearly as large as that imperialist country itself. Even the little Portugal has gobbled up Macao. How then can pot call kettle black? How can these European nations ask Japan to pull out unless they, too, pull out? It seems, however, that as America has never had any predatory design upon the continent of Asia, Americans would be in a better position to go to the rescue of the Eastern Republic, and ask Japan to get out of Siberia.

SUDHINDRA BOSE,

## DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY.

The idea of Democracy is no longer confined to political institutions. It is slowly filtering down through the economic institutions as well. Democracy has been defined in many ways. It is something more than a mere form of Government. It is a *kind* of government actuated by motives of liberty, equality and fraternity. Liberty in the economic fields signifies a free choice of occupations which is facilitated by a move from status to contract. It is the economic order of civilisation as opposed to the military that renders contract the guiding principle of social obligations. Equality in business takes the form of equalisation of opportunities. Negatively, the process of equalisation involves the removal of barriers to free competition which a better organisation of Labour on one hand and on the other a more judicious state-interference in industrial affairs with due regard to the principles of the social process as a whole. The two wise principles of state-interference, in the opinion of an eminent authority, seem to be "first, when the Darwinian law in its application to man in society, is too cruel and wasteful (as in economic competition, due to the lack of the staying power and to a possible over-production from the individual labourer's point of view), or works in any way to destroy those, who from the broadest and the highest stand-point of race-improvement, are best gifted to survive (*e.g.* the prospective leaders and captains of industry), to that extent, the principle of Natural selection is to be checked or regulated if possible by the organised effort of society, in other words, by the state. Secondly, where the law does not so operate as to eliminate those essentially unfit to survive, the impending cause is to be removed and the operation of law rendered possible."

Positively, the process of equalisation is state-help operating principally through educational agencies. The question of training occupies the first place in all statesmen's programmes. The fight between general education and vocational training is not yet over, but still the necessity for education with special reference to the innate fitness found out by anthropological, psychological and eugenistic methods has been recognised beyond

doubt. Free education affords equal opportunities for all and leaves a career open to talents.

Again, fraternity is the soul of federation. From the smallest Co-operative Society, through trade-unionism, to the Inter-national Labour Conference, we see an application of the third cardinal tenet in the Economic Zone of human activities. Among the capitalists where the bonds of union are light, trusts and kartels are formed as a result of vertical or horizontal combination. They wield tremendous influence for good or evil over the means of production and consumption, and exchange in general. In some countries they preside over the political destinies of nations as well. But the limits to the size of such fraternities are set by the vitality of the units and their capacity and fitness. Among labourers, the bonds of union are either functional or occupational, ethnic or social. Here also the limit to their federation is in the healthy refusal of each group to merge itself in a vague generality. In this connection we are reminded of the identification of labour-parties with the military organisation of the national group during the last war. The three principles of Democracy are thus being gradually recognised. The break-up of age-long traditions and the increasing sphere of state-activities, the spread of education, the growing sense of labour as a whole group all over the world in spite of the temporary phase of national labour-parties during the war, all help in the organisation of economic freedom. Moreover, the principle of a Soviet, however crude might be its application is a triumph of self-government in industry. The success of this principle depends upon the natural fitness of the proletariat and where craftsmanship goes hand in hand with the ability of the individual worker, fostered under a system of free education and upon a basis of inherited capacities, self-government is bound to be, as in politics, the best among the hitherto discovered panaceas of industrial ills.

The spiritual appeal of the infinite worth of human personality of which Democracy is the external expression, however imperfect it might be, has been strengthened by the great emphasis given to the social mind and man's unlearned tendencies in the whole trend of modern anti-intellectualism. One phase of

the anti-intellectualistic upheaval needs to be indicated. Instincts are receiving their proper estimate in all matters concerning industry. We know that instincts play a great part in the fundamental doctrine of economics, *viz.*, value. We also know that groups are formed on the strength of the instincts connected with sociability and are federated on the same basis, even though the consciousness of kind has been fully developed as a result of a more deliberate, *i.e.*, intellectual association. The groups fight one another owing to combativeness and bring about the most characteristic phenomenon, *viz.*, competition. They federate and construct on the basis of play-instincts. In the sphere of economic democracy, instincts are but as yet slowly recognised. In America and Canada, the Ministry of Health attempts to make a thorough enquiry into the natural differences in human faculties on sound eugenic principles. In England pressure is being put upon the government to select the right men for the right place: *e.g.*, the airman's sense of equilibrium and powers of endurance before he is selected. So also the submarine-man's. And the psycho-anthropologists hold that if there are diseases of occupation, *e.g.*, miners' phthisis in the gold mines of South Africa, and if men are susceptible to and immune from certain diseases as established beyond doubt by the disciples of Pasteur, then vocational education as sought to be administered by the state for the equalisation of human opportunities must be based upon the natural fitness for particular jobs. Similarly their task is helped by the experimental psychologists in grading out the special and instinctive aptitudes of the individual, as well as by the psychologists who are devising means to allay fatigue and immense expenditure of energy in work. Their task will end in placing the right men in the right places to get the maximum efficiency. So we see that Democracy in Economics is not going to be another abstraction, if based upon tendencies of human nature innate, inherited or acquired. It will give equivalent chances to all without standardising them in one dull arid uniformity. The equivalency of opportunities which it seeks to bring about makes allowance even for inequality of capacities with which modern social psychology starts. Indeed, employment-psychology takes

for granted the infinite variety and adaptability of man in the midst of a variety of his business activities. Thus the adaptation of natural aptitudes to grades and kinds of industrial work which will soon be a recognised feature of an industrial democratic administration, strengthens the democratic trend by an equalisation of opportunities, even if unlearned tendencies are found to be disparate and unmodifiable by training.

DHURJATI PROSAD MUKERJEA.

## HOW POISONS ARE DETECTED

Many cases of poisoning go undetected, simply because suspicion has never been aroused. Where suspicion has been aroused, and the case has gone to a point at which the aid of chemical analysis has been invoked, the guilty poisoner in the present day has very little chance of escape.

In all such cases the preliminary, or mere police or detective evidence, is much the same. Suspicious circumstances are noticed by friends or attendants. The doctor himself is not satisfied, and refuses a certificate of death. Then there is the coroner's inquest, the jury's verdict and, finally, a scientific examination by chemical experts. This latter is by far the most important, as it is also the final procedure. With it the chain of evidence becomes complete. If one link be missing the result is necessarily negative.

Orfila first demonstrated, in 1814, that many poisons are not to be looked for in the stomach only, but in all the tissues of the body. This was a great step in advance. But he was to initiate a still more important line of research—*viz.*, that of determining what constituted a fatal dose of any poison. This he did by giving animals lethal doses, and then successively lowering the amount of the dose till only a few animals out of a given number succumbed. This enabled him roughly to calculate the proportionately fatal dose for a human being, where, of course, direct experiment was impossible. If, for instance, a dog weighing 15lb. just recovered from a dose of arsenic of one-fifth of a grain, a man weighing ten times as much might be expected to recover from a dose ten times as great, or, say, from two grains. The method was only approximate, but it initiated a line of inquiry still largely practised in difficult cases. It is not too much to say that there is now no known poison which, if administered in a sufficient dose, cannot be detected after death.

We shall now discuss briefly a few of the scientific procedures adopted to discover first of all whether a man has actually been poisoned, and, if so, by what substance. The main out-

lines only can be sketched, and a few crucial tests given, because the subject is both difficult and highly technical. Indeed, in any country at any given time there are only a very few men alive competent to make these researches successfully.

Suppose a farthing and a shilling were placed in a glass tube and some ordinary nitric acid poured upon them both, what would happen? In a very short time both coins would disappear. There would, to the eye, be nothing in the tube except a clear and slightly bluish fluid. If now a pinch of common table salt were to be added, a heavy deposit or "precipitate" of silver chloride would at once take place. This could be filtered out, and, when subjected to further tests in order to distinguish it from two or three other metals, might finally, by means of the blow-pipe, be handed back as a small bright globule of metallic silver. The tube would still, however, contain the copper. A little ammonia added would cause a brilliant blue colour. This would show, at any rate, the presence of copper, which further tests would confirm. Eventually the copper could be exhibited as a small piece of metal. The shilling and the farthing would once again be before us, altered only in shape and perhaps a little reduced in weight.

This very simple chemical analysis differs only in degree but not in principle from the most complicated. Here the chemist had to look only for silver and copper. If he had been originally asked to say what the tube might possibly contain, his task would have been more complicated and tedious, but not really much more difficult. Had it contained, besides silver and copper, a dozen other metals, his analysis would have been able to detect and exhibit to view each one of them. Had the contents of the tube been mixed, say, with hare soup or beer or claret he could sooner or later, and with equal certainty, have recovered both the silver and copper.

The analytical chemist in search of poison in a suspicious case has, however, some peculiar difficulties to encounter. First of all, the poison may come from the whole domain of the animal and vegetable kingdom. Secondly, the amount of suspected material sent for examination may be so small as to afford scarcely enough to try all his tests on. Thirdly, there may be

more than one poison present, and, though these may be separately isolated, it may be difficult to show that any one of them has been in sufficient quantity to have caused death. The inherent difficulties of some of these cases may best be illustrated by an example long become classical in the annals of poisoning.

One afternoon in the month of March 1882 Dr. Lampson called on his brother-in-law, a youth then at school. He brought him some cakes, and as the lad was not feeling well suggested his taking a little medicine. He then handed him a harmless-looking capsule, and twenty minutes later took his departure. A quarter of an hour after he was gone, the boy, whose name was Malcolm John, became seriously unwell. He complained of heartburn, of sickness of the stomach, of difficulty of swallowing, and eventually became delirious. He died within three and a half hours, apparently of paralysis of the heart!

A post-mortem examination, as often happens, revealed nothing in particular. The doctors were at fault. The symptoms were not unlike those of hydrophobia, and the immediate cause of death seemed to have been, as in that disease, paralysis of the heart. But this supposition was untenable, for the illness had come on with extreme suddenness and had terminated in a very short space of time. The only inference permissible was that poison had been administered. This being assumed, the poison, it was clear, could only have been a vegetable one, since it had caused so little internal changes. It was probably an alkaloid, because of the rapidity of its action. But certain virulent alkaloids, such as strychnine, atropine (belladonna), and morphia, were excluded because there were neither violent spasms, dilation of the pupils, nor a tendency to sleep. Such, then, was the riddle which the chemists had to read.

They went to work very systematically, very patiently and very skilfully. They had practically to pass in review the whole group of vegetable poisons. Their first step in the analysis was to plunge the stomach and its contents into spirits of wine (alcohol), and leave it undisturbed there for two days and nights. Then this spirit was carefully poured off and filtered, and both it and the residue so obtained were set aside for further examination. This residue was next subjected to the

action of warm alcohol and tartaric acid, then allowed to cool, and once more filtered. After further treatment a clear solution was finally obtained. This was now shaken up with ether in order to remove various fatty and other matters. Then chloroform and ether were used, but this time together. They would, it was known, dissolve out all alkaloids present. On evaporation a deposit was left. This must now consist of one or more alkaloids. It only remained to say what the alkaloid was, and to give a reasonable estimate of the quantity of the poison originally administered.

Now some of the alkaloids are much more easily recognised chemically than others. In a few cases chemical tests are not wholly sufficient. They must be supplemented but not replaced by others, such as their taste, and especially their known action on living animals. The chemical tests in Lampson's case had now been exhausted. The residue above mentioned had been mixed with a preparation of gold, and a further deposit obtained. This had been weighed and then burned, and the gold left had then been earnestly weighed again. The percentage of precious metal found remaining gave valuable information indeed, but not all that was required.

Recourse was next had to the so-called "physiological" tests on animals. A chemist must not be too nice nor squeamish. The mysterious residue had been tasted. Though the quantity so tried was infinitesimal it at once gave that peculiar tingling sensation to the tongue which is absolutely characteristic of aconite, and which, once experienced, is never forgotten. There remained one test more. The quantity available was very small, and therefore very small animals had to be employed. A portion injected under the skin of a mouse caused symptoms of poisoning within two minutes and death within thirty. On this evidence, which, be it remarked, was absolutely conclusive when taken as a whole, and which could be evidence of aconite only, Lampson was hanged.

The above case has been related in some detail because it exemplifies the methods adopted with slight variations in the detection of all vegetable poisons. It so happens that aconite is a difficult substance to isolate chemically. The physiological

tests—that is, the sensation of numbness it imparts to the tongue and its rapidly fatal action on animals—are now the ones chiefly relied on. The alkaloid is the active principle in Wolfsbane, a common hedgerow plant.

India, of all countries, is where this particular poison is most used. A resident once described it as "useful to the sportsman for killing tigers, to the rich for putting troublesome relatives out of the way, and to jealous husbands for dealing with unfaithful spouses." In 1842, while the British troops were pursuing the Burmese, an attempt to poison the water-tanks with aconite root happily failed. Of all known vegetable poisons, aconite, and its active principle aconitine, is one of the most virulent. In rapidity of action it ranks along with atropine (belladonna) and strychnine, but is inferior to prussic acid. A quantity only one-sixteenth of a grain has proved fatal to a man, while the medicinal dose, or the amount which can be given with safety, is the incredibly small quantity of the one-six-hundred-and-fortieth part of a grain.

To the same class of vegetable poisons as aconite belongs also atropine. This is the active principle in Belladonna, or the plant commonly known as "Deadly Nightshade". Criminal poisonings by atropine are somewhat rare in Europe, but relatively common in India. The poison has been known in that land of mystery from prehistoric times. Of all poisons, it is the only one which, according to Dr. Chevers, assimilates even in a slight degree to the marvellous drugs of the Middle Ages, though much exaggeration, bordering, indeed, on nonsense, has been written about such poisons as aqua to fana and others. There were probably never in the history of the human race any poisons which could do one-half of what was credited to some of these. But, undoubtedly, atropine does what no other drug will do—namely, impair the mental faculties while not destroying life. By centuries of practice Hindoo poisoners have gained a subtle and deadly skill in its use. It is said that personal enemies, political rivals, and historical personages, whose power was deemed too great, have not, indeed, been killed outright by it, but rendered idiotic and harmless by the incessant administration of small doses.

Accidental poisoning by belladonna (atropine) is by no means uncommon, owing to mistakes by druggists in dispensing or by children chewing the leaves and bright red berries of the plant. The symptoms come on within about half an hour. There is a peculiar dryness of the throat, a change in the voice as in hydrophobia and great restlessness. These are followed by dryness of skin, a red rash, delirium, and death. The delirium is of a very peculiar and characteristic kind. It is associated with rhythmical movements of the arms and legs. Thus a tailor poisoned by atropine moved his arms and legs consecutively, as if sewing, for four hours. Death generally takes place within six hours. If a patient lives eight hours he may be expected to recover. The symptoms of atropine poisoning may be mistaken in a child for scarlatina, or in an adult for hydrophobia (rabies) or delirium tremens. If the case is seen sufficiently early there is probably an antidote in pilocarpine, itself a poisonous alkaloid. Out of 112 cases treated early, thirteen only were fatal.

There are many chemical tests for atropine, but the physiological test is at once the most delicate and the most characteristic. So subtle and so potent is the influence of the drug on the eye that the pupil will dilate if a solution of only one part in 130,000 be applied under the eyelid. The pupils of a rat's eyes will slowly dilate if only the animal's fore-paw be placed in a solution of atropine. In man, a solution of the strength of one in 48,000 parts takes only about an hour to act. This reaction effectively marks off belladonna and its alkaloid from all other known poisons. It lasts long after death, and cannot be interfered with by any other drug, except the alkaloid eserine. This, however, is not sufficiently powerful to interfere with it for long or to completely antagonise it.

There are many other vegetable alkaloids used as poisons, but the general way in which they are dealt with is in all cases the same. A solution of the internal organs is prepared by soaking in alcohol, and followed up by other processes. Advantage is taken of the fact that most, if not all, the vegetable poisonous alkaloids are soluble in ether and chloroform; and that they can be "thrown down" from this solution by a gold or

platinum "salt" or compound. Once separated from the suspected mixture, they can then each be tested separately. When thus tested, strychnine, for instance, gives a peculiar reaction with chromate of potash, a relatively common substance. If a small particle of the chromate of potash be placed in contact with the suspected strychnine on a porcelain plate, and a drop of strong sulphuric acid added, a rich blue colour at once appears. More remarkable still, this colour rapidly changes into purple and red. This reaction is incredibly delicate, and will detect strychnine with unfailing accuracy in any mixture. It is remarkable also that strychnine, unlike in a body exhumed after 308 days, is also recognised by its peculiar and searching bitter taste. The chief difficulty in its chemical analysis arises from the small quantity in which strychnine is generally used. Half a grain proved a fatal dose in the case of Dr. Warren, and this minute quantity, before death, would have become mingled with every tissue of his body, which weighed over 120lb.

Another vegetable poison, and one which every year is responsible for many deaths, is opium. This well-known drug is the thickened and dried juice of species of poppy largely cultivated in India and Asia Minor. In the latter country men clad in leather suits walk through the poppy plantations and allow the gummy juice to adhere to their clothes, whence it is subsequently scraped off. If poisoning by morphia, the most important of the many alkaloids contains opium, be suspected, chemical analysis is capable of detecting an amount so small as one-twenty-thousandth part of a grain. Its presence will be shown by the blue colour which iodic acid, when added to it, at once produces. Chloride of zinc added to pure morphia and heated for fifteen minutes produces a beautiful and lasting green colour.

Of all ordinary poisons, opium, though by no means the most virulent, is the most used. It is known now to kill, not, as was once supposed, by its action on the heart, but by paralysing important nerve centres. The symptoms it causes are drowsiness, passing into complete coma, associated—and this is an important symptom—with contracted pupils. Atropine and belladonna cause the pupils to be widely dilated. In a case of

attempted suicide which came under the writer's care, life was saved by keeping the patient constantly moving, by giving plenty of hot coffee, and by injecting under the skin a solution of atropine.

The classical instance of De Quincy, who eventually used to drink nearly a pint of laudanum a day, shows how readily the body can learn to tolerate this poison. It is largely smoked in the East, and it is only fair to say that its bad effects have been very much exaggerated. It would appear to economise physiological wear and tear. In this way, without itself being a food, it tends to lessen the amount of food required. Plenty of evidence has been accumulated to show that opium eating and smoking are by no means injurious if practised in moderation.

In addition to the many vegetable poisons there is a wholly different class of poisonous substances often used and easily detected which must now be briefly mentioned. These are the inorganic substances, such as metals and strong acids. Of the latter little need be said, as they at once betray themselves by the effects they cause on the tissues. The most commonly used is carbolic, which in ten years caused either by suicide or accident 762 deaths.

Of metallic poisons, by far the most interesting and important is arsenic. In France, out of a total of 793 accusations of poisoning, 283 were of poisoning by arsenic. The smallest fatal dose on record in a human subject was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  grains. The actual cause of death is not really known as yet. There is reason, however, to believe that arsenic is a nerve poison, and acts chiefly by interfering with those nutritive processes on which life ultimately depends. The presence of arsenic in coloured wall-papers has been recognised as a source of poisoning. Like opium, when taken in small doses over a long time its action becomes changed. The arsenic-eaters of Syria can take with impunity enormous doses. About two years ago in England there was a very extensive series of cases of slow poisoning caused by beer tainted with arsenic. In all these the symptoms were those of chronic nervous disturbance, rather than of acute irritant poisoning. Plants as well as animals succumb to arsenic.

There are many tests for arsenic, all easily applied and all perfectly reliable. The post-mortem appearances are more or less characteristic. The most important, considered as evidence, is the preservative action arsenic exercises on the body. Thus, in the case of the wife of a German poisoner the body was quite unchanged when exhumed eleven months after death. One of the most remarkable cases of late years was the one known in England and America as the Maybrick case. A short account of the scientific evidence in this case will illustrate the modern methods of detecting arsenical poisoning.

The patient was taken ill on April 27. The symptoms were quite consonant with a severe attack of stomach derangement, and so they aroused no suspicion. They yielded at first to ordinary remedies, but within a brief interval returned without apparent cause. A sensation of heat and burning was complained of internally, together with increasing weakness and other symptoms which did not point to any known malady. Death came somewhat unexpectedly on May 10, exactly thirteen days after the first attack. The doctor in attendance refused a certificate, so that an inquest became necessary. Then it was asserted that the dead man's wife had soaked arsenical "fly-papers" in water, and had been seen putting this water into the deceased's food and medicines. Other suspicious actions and circumstances were also mentioned. The analysts, accordingly, in this case sought directly for arsenic. Digesting small portions of the body in a suitable acid, and then adding a very common reagent known as hydrogen sulphate, the chemists obtained a yellow precipitate. When this, under proper precautions, was heated in a tube, it disappeared in part, leaving bright metallic beads on the cooler portion of the tube. This was very characteristic, but the metals cadmium and antimony would have done much the same under the circumstances. To distinguish further, another test was applied, known as Reinsche's test. A bright piece of copper was boiled in some of the suspected fluid after addition of acid, and soon became coated with a grey metallic film. The copper was then dried, placed in a glass tube, and heated. A ring of crystals of arsenic gradually appeared beyond the heated portion of the tube. Other metals,

however, such as antimony and silver, might have been deposited under the same conditions, and, therefore, a last and final test, which would be absolutely conclusive, became necessary.

This is known as Marsh's test, from the name of the distinguished Edinburgh chemist who first described it in 1836. A few pieces of zinc were placed in a flask and dilute sulphuric acid (vitriol) added. Hydrogen gas was quickly evolved and its purity tested, for arsenic might have been present as an impurity either in the zinc itself or the acid. When it was quite certain that this was not the case, a portion of the suspected fluid was poured into the flask, the hydrogen gas having already been burning for some time. Over its blue and intensely hot flame a fragment of cold porcelain was then held. A black spot of metallic arsenic which was really arsenic soot was quickly deposited. This last test, when fully worked out with due precautions against possible errors, was absolutely conclusive. It only remained to estimate the amount of arsenic present in the body. The liver, for this purpose, was carefully weighed, and found to be 48 oz. From the quarter of this 76 grains were extracted, which meant, roughly, one-third of a grain for the whole organ. If arsenic were present in anything like the same proportion over the whole body, the quantity recovered would be more than sufficient to account for death.

We do not discuss or venture to give any opinion as to whether the accused woman was guilty or not. All we wish to point out is that arsenic was detected in the body and to show how this detection was chemically carried out. The defence held that the poison was self-administered and was cumulative, and there was nothing, so far as the chemical evidence went, to disprove this contention.

LITTON FORBES.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF POSE.

There is such a strong prejudice against the word 'pose' that its significance and necessity for evolution are wholly ignored. It is thought that 'pose' and truth are incompatible, that the presence of one implies the absence of the other. And, therefore, 'pose' has got to be shaken off; it has to be pitilessly wrenched out of the heart, if further progress in the evolutionary scheme is to be at all possible. Pose, must no doubt, be annihilated; but its value in the economy of evolution must clearly be recognised. It is a means to an end and a necessary means at that. It is the expression of a transitional stage, a mile-stone on the road of evolution.

But what is "pose" after all? The dictionary meaning is the "attitude of body or mind, especially one assumed for effect". And it is this assumption of an attitude for effect, this affectation, this pretending to be other than what one is, that makes it so ill-favoured of men. But no sharp line can really be drawn between an attitude that is assumed for 'effect' and one that is not, for what is patent in all its nakedness in the former is only immanent in the latter. 'Pose' for effect is only that which stands out almost immodestly from the more or less even back-ground of the individual's character; an attitude *sans* effect is that which on account of constant repetitions, has sunk back into and been assimilated by his character as a whole.

There is thus only a difference of degree and not of kind. Both have their root in the necessity for self-preservation and self-expansion. Some poses appear to be artificial and affected simply because they do not seem to *us* to come out of the depths of the being of the individual, simply because they do not seem to square with *our* previous estimate of him. Thus an attitude for effect is that which does not seem to fit in with the general character of the individual as *we* have estimated it. But since no individual can manifest his *whole* character at a given time, the so-called 'pose' may not be an affectation at all.

Carlyle says : "The essence of affectation is that it be assumed ; the character is, as it were, forcibly crushed into some foreign mould, in the hope of being thereby reshaped and beautified ; and the unhappy man persuades himself he has became a new creature of wonderful symmetry, though every movement betrays not symmetry but dislocation". Here he makes the same mistake, *viz.*, of thinking that the whole character of an individual can be apprehended. The "foreign mould" may seem to *us* to be foreign ; but to the individual in question it may not be so at all. The character of an individual is not an inert static thing. It is dynamic. It is undergoing transmutations every moment and that slowly, imperceptibly. So that when an attitude is assumed, such as is unfamiliar to us, we are apt to take it for a pose, though it may be a natural development of an aspect of character hitherto unnoticed by us. Nor can any affectation, however glaring, be foreign ; it must have its root in the depths of the individual's character before it can sprout up ; it must be native to the soil. As Emerson says : "This ever-renewing generation of appearances rests on a reality, and a reality that is alive".

'Pose' may now be defined as an attitude, conscious or unconscious, for effect or otherwise, which an individual assumes for self-expression which is determined by the circumstances of the external world on the one hand and the instinct of self-preservation and the lust (*tanha*) for self-expansion on the other.

If pose is necessary, as it undoubtedly is in one form or another in all stages of evolution, from the very highest conceivable to the lowest, is it possible to slough it off, as it were, much less kill it ? Is not human life a mighty endless procession of multi-coloured poses, a sort of a cinematograph film which presents to the view pose after pose in dazzling succession ? One may go further and ask—Is there anything in the world which is not a pose ?

Indeed, the manifested universe itself is a pose. The Logos living that subjective state of existence of sweet repose and ecstatic joy, of repose and joy merged into a single state of a consciousness of which no more can be predicted than that it is a condition of unimaginable blessedness—why does He

renounce it and take on that mighty 'Pose' which we reverently call 'Manifestation'? Perhaps this necessity dwells in His very nature, a necessity like unto that which exists in us. And the pose of the Logos creates millions of forms all expressive of himself more or less. This seems to be the meaning of "He willed : May I be many, may I be born". (Rig-veda). And when we say that the world is a Lila of the Logos, we really mean that it is constituted of an infinite number of 'poses' of Him.

If by 'pose' we mean the attitude that anything takes, consciously or unconsciously, then there is nothing in the world which has not a pose, and indeed it is this external, objective 'pose' which secures the dignity of existence to the lower forms of life. Minerals and vegetables have no mind and therefore no self-consciousness, with the result that their poses do not arise from the inner depths of their being as they do in the case of self-conscious beings ; their dim vague feeling of existence is not strong enough to project their nascent slumbering being into so many poses. But they must have a pose at least to mark them off from other modes of existence and this pose is provided for them by the creative activity of Nature.

In the case of animals, especially the higher ones, we know they have the dim awakenings of mind but as yet no self-consciousness. They cannot yet relate their experiences to their centres of consciousness. Their experiences are discrete ; there is yet nothing in them which can make a synthetic whole of their variegated experiences ; there is no permanent thread to string them together. Besides this, their poses are few and far between ; and they are brought into being by external stimuli : they are not self-initiated.

The savage, the least evolved human being, resembles the higher animals very much in this respect. But he has a nascent self-consciousness, a very valuable weapon, though he is as yet unaware of its use and as to how to use it. His 'poses' are simple and few. His self-consciousness is so very slight at this stage that its need of self-expression is satisfied by a few poses. They are mostly brought into being by the instincts of sex and self-preservation. It is only when these instincts

rouse up his slumbering self-consciousness that he assumes poses for their gratification, and such poses may even be militant and aggressive if they come into conflict with those of other Savages. The breeding ground of poses is the Society, but the Savage has no Society, for his very development at that particular stage depend upon the negation of a social order. As he has little self-initiative and as external stimuli are in his case, restricted only to the two primeval instincts, and as the whole field of society which proffers artificial "appetisers" are closed to him, his poses are few and elemental and crude.

But as man's individuality grows stronger and more and more stable his poses become richer and more and more complex and of various kinds. His emotional and intellectual nature has also developed, while his interests in the external world have widened and become multifarious.

Poses are nothing but so many centres of self-expression. Now in the complex nature of a civilised man there are innumerable such centres, each different from the other, but capable of being grouped under well-defined heads. Broadly classified they are subjective and objective. They are not of equal importance and value. The subjective pose becomes increasingly the sign of an advanced man, as he withdraws himself more and more from the fret and fever of the outward world to the inward recesses of his own being. This withdrawal may be fitful in the beginning, but every such withdrawal brings the day nearer when there shall be a permanent reaction from the objective 'poses'.

The objective 'poses' incarnate themselves in so many ways. While treading the *Pravritti* Marga the man has his interests widely scattered in the world. And his life runs out and fills itself in each one of them, so that the man identifies himself with them. They become part and parcel of his being. His varied interests and himself are atoned; nay, his interests become so pronounced and characteristic that his Self is almost relegated to the background and his individuality is no more than a bundle of these interests. First in his home and then in the Society does he find these interests which break him up into so many fragments. In order to perpetuate these interests, which bring

him happiness, he has to adapt himself in various ways to the demands of home and society. These adaptations are so many 'poses,' so many energised centres of his individuality, each centre yielding to him whatever happiness it is capable of. Such poses are bound to be artificial because they pander to the animal self, which itself is a Pose of the Higher Self and therefore artificial and impermanent, and also because some of them at least are "formally assumed for the sake of effect". The individual believes that the happiness he yearns for can be had only in the outside world—in the peace and love and sensuousness of a domestic life and in the acquisition of wealth and power that society dangles before him. In domestic life his poses are really so many compromises for his own pleasure. He yields and asserts, he is loving and he is angry, he is depressed and he is all smiles—all these poses are expedients and makeshifts for happiness.

His domestic poses are, however, less under restraint than his social poses. In the narrow confines of his domestic life, he can afford to be a lion, though at the loss of so much happiness and although, sooner or later, he must needs take on a pose to restore the equilibrium. In society, on the other hand, his poses are all so many confessions of his own weakness and recognition of the iron strength of society. He is one among many, and therefore he must of a necessity assume as many poses as there are people to commune with. The ready facility with which poses are assumed bespeak the immense fecundity of the individual. Like the Sire he also, in his own humble way, wills to be many to contact the many. This is necessary, as by such artificial 'poses', he has to understand and assimilate the experiences of the many. The poses, therefore, have a practical value. Though they are in essence artificial, they, nevertheless, serve to rouse the inner man by drawing him out to themselves, thereby enabling him to experience their inherent emptiness. He assumes these poses in order to contact and secure happiness; he creates them, he puts himself into them. But they ultimately prove to be dead sea apple in his hands.

The ego, however, learns—and the infinitude of 'poses' have given him experience which he could never have got otherwise

that the poses which he erects in obedience to the demands of society and his own inner necessity for self-expression cannot go very far. They have indeed their uses, but after a certain stage in evolution their value becomes zero. But the man's evolution is not yet complete. Urged by the necessity for expression, he rushes into the old shells again and again but only to retire disappointed each time. And then he definitely begins to turn inwards. The endless creation of poses, one after another, serves to bring out and strengthen the centre of individuality, because 'pose' is, by its very nature, a separative force; it separates the poser from the rest and demands recognition and appreciation. But when individuality has been established and strengthened it begins to doubt the efficacy and value of pose; it apprises at its true worth the glamour which it casts upon the world; it regards it with disgust and perhaps, dismay. As a matter of fact instead of being a help it will become an encumbrance to him; instead of drawing nourishment from it as heretofore, he will find his future growth hampered by it. This is the stage of *Viveka*, discrimination, when the individual repudiates the infinite number of 'poses' created by him, perseveres to withdraw his energy from those artificial centres and retreats within the centre of his own being. *Moksha* is the liberation of the individual centre from those poses. All the Hindu Schools of philosophy prescribe their own method for the destruction of these poses.

Now, the poses, as said above, are individual, separative. They were absolutely necessary up to a certain stage in evolution. But those 'poses' have to be broken by non-attachment or *Vairagya* and the life imprisoned by each one of them set free before further progress is at all possible. They have to be starved and sucked dry of the life within them by denying them any further attention. The creation of poses and living in them and continually feeding them are as necessary as Hegel's second stage of differentiation. It represents an advance upon the first stage of homogeneity: it is a breaking asunder of the homogeneous substance into an infinite number of foci; it is the willing of the one into the many. But this is a tentative stage, and its value lies in its evolving into a higher stage, called *synthesis*.

by Hegel. In other words, the individual has to break the bounds of its personality and to become one with the Father in Heaven. His consciousness has to become universal. And it cannot be so long as the poses bar the onward way. The very function of the poses is to exclude, to separate, to differentiate, to repudiate. It is only thus that an individual centre can be formed. But to include, to unite, to harmonise, to atone—all these are of the very essence of a synthetic universal consciousness. Thus it is only with the disappearance, one by one, of the poses that the latter state can be attained. All the separate poses have to yield up their distinctive marks, their characteristic possessions, which go to enrich consciousness and make it more and more universal.

It will have appeared that when the transition is about to take place from the individual to the universal, the 'poses' have to be done away with one by one. The individual shows his divinity in the innumerable number of poses that he creates. The inner passion of the individual for self-expression, to fill itself into a number of forms, to manifest itself in a number of ways, to create tiny, imperfect likenesses of itself, quite a multitude of them—this inner craving for experience leads him astray. He goes out outwards, running amock, as it were, till the passion subsides, the rage is over, and he turns back, with disappointment and disgust into the centre of his own being. These poses, these forms were animated by his own life. Each one of them is a centre of experience. But when the individual is fast dropping off the poses, it is not the peculiar experiences that they envisaged that he is discarding. All these experiences, separate and walled off from each other, are now crushed together into one synthetic experience, which is neither this particular experience nor that, nor a mere summation of them all, but a new experience altogether like unto the nature of universal principles and laws and generalities. And the shells of the poses, deprived of the life within them, are left behind to disintegrate and mix with the elements out of which they were originally organised.

## II

Now, we know the nature and use of 'poses'. They are

necessary at the earlier stages of evolution. It is by separation and difference that the self grows; that is only how differences arise in homogeneity. The very nature of the poses being separative and assertive and their existence depending on their recognition and appreciation by others; as, in fine, they thrive in opposition to others, it stands to reason that after certain progress has been made these particularities will bar the way to further progress. It is necessary for knowledge that one should have sufficient materials from the external world, but those materials must be reduced into a system, must be synthesised into a harmonious whole before knowledge is at all possible. The discrete sensations have to be woven into the fabric of knowledge. Similarly the discrete 'poses' through which the individual contacted the world and which are animated by his life-force and which stand not only in contradiction among themselves but also in opposition to those erected by other individuals—these poses have to be reduced into a system under the stress of a higher principle. In order that the universal be reached one has to go behind and beyond the particulars. The individual has to wrench himself away from the poses, which is by no means an easy task, for he has been attached to them for ages and has identified himself with them, and learn to contact the universal by means of the very life-energy that was imprisoned by the poses. He has to make the effort again and again, for he will be brought down, times without number, to the region of the particulars by the poses that are not dead yet but only languishing. There cannot remain perpetual division of consciousness between the lower self which so complacently dwells in the poses created by itself and the Higher Self whose dwelling is in the realm of the universal. The consciousness has to be loosed from the poses to soar high into the region of the abstract; the personal has to be smashed before the impersonal can be reached.

The evolution of man consists in rising from the personal to the impersonal, from the concrete to the abstract, from the individual to the universal. This can be done by repudiating the poses as many times as it may be necessary to do so and by identifying oneself with the Higher Self. And all the great

religions of the world do proffer aids to the attainment of universal or cosmic consciousness. The Hindu religion, for instance, prescribes Yogic practises for the bringing about of this consummation. Each one of these practices has the breaking up of the poses as their object. The tyranny of the poses is destroyed by the control of mind and by the practice of virtues. The modern moralist does not understand the fundamental and ultimate reason for these virtues. Their importance is not relative to Sociological needs, as he thinks. Their importance is absolute, as Kant rightly thought, though for another and more profound reason. All the virtues are abstract and universal in their nature; so that by practising them we are trying to break away from the world of forms, from the phantasmagoria of bewildering variety of poses. The virtues help us to wean ourselves away from the poses. And when the mind is brought under perfect control, the tendency of the poses to arise of themselves like ripples on the breast of the Ganges, is checked, with the result that for lack of nourishment they wither away and disintegrate.

The Science of Yoga teaches that consciousness can be released from the poses along three lines: First, by the contemplation of the Universal in the Beautiful; Secondly, by the contemplation of the universal in thought; and thirdly, by the attainment of the universal through Action. This classification is not arbitrary but fundamental, and represents three broad types of temperament corresponding to the three states of consciousness, which in itself is a reflection of the three aspects of God. Every individual has his own dominant note and he attains his salvation along his own line.

A. Let us see how the *contemplation of the universal in the Beautiful* helps in releasing the consciousness from the thraldom of the poses. Anything which is antithetical to the very nature of the 'poses' will be their bane. Now, the contemplation of the Beautiful withdraws the consciousness from the particular to the universal, when we are contemplating a picture, it is not the form that is of importance as such; it is important as the vehicle of the universal. Therefore that form is a work of art which leads us into the reality which lies behind it. Any tyro of an

artist can make a beautiful form, anatomically flawless, but it is only the true artist who can illumine it with the glow of the universal which he has touched in his moment of inspiration and exaltation. But Art is twice blest; it blesseth him that gives and him that takes. The art critic also—and by 'critic' we understand all genuine lovers of art—glides into the domain of the universal while contemplating a particular piece of art, and true appreciation consists in touching the universal from the point of view of the artist. This is the case not only with painting but other modes of art also. The true poet is he who has given body and shape to his experience in the region of the universal. The musician, on the other hand, depends much less on forms; they are simply suggestions and aids to the realisation of true harmony. We all know that great musicians employ words as mere pegs for harmony to hang upon. Pure harmony can not be brought down into this world of poses, and therefore it has to employ physical means, which may be either words or even mere sound. The music of the highest type does not depend for its excellence on the words because of the meanings attached to them, but on the various modulations of sound, which more nearly approximates to the nature of the formless. The musician, the painter, the poet—all these have glimpses of the universal, but they are sporadic, fitful, fugitive, not depending upon the will of the artist. They come and go as they list. But the experience, even though only once vouchsafed, is valuable; when once one has beheld the beauty of the universal, the 'poses' lose all value and meaning. The effort of the artist must be to experience the universal at will, nay, to dwell in it normally even as he dwells now in his imperfect state in the 'poses' of his own creation. And the effort must be a long, sustained one. There may be many disappointments, many falls, many slidings back, but the effort must be unflinchingly continued.

#### B. *The Contemplation of the Universal in Thought :*

Thought or Intellect is much decried to-day. This is the inevitable reaction from the great and mighty position which Western Philosophy and Science had assigned to intellect. Too

much had been made of Science—and to-day we behold the spectacle of the very instrument which has raised Science to the pre-eminent position that it is still holding, being challenged as unreliable and of limited range and as calculated to serve practical purposes only. Philosophers like James, Bergson, Le Roy and others assert that its zone of influence, its range of activity is very limited indeed; and even within that zone it is none too reliable! But we must clearly understand that it is only concrete thought that is thus assailed, thought which breaks up things into parts, which "murders to dissect", which feeds on differences, separation and repulsion. In this connection one is reminded of Hegel's distinction between reason and understanding. The better part of intellect, the positive pole of it, so to say, is pure; it goes behind the differences and by intense concentration it lights upon the glistening thread which unites them all, which, indeed, is the common life of them all. The concrete intellect is a means to an end which is attained by an exercise of the pure abstract intellect. The transition from the concrete to the abstract is imperceptible. The one furnishes the conditions that are necessary for the latter. The Scientist, while he is intent on his work, all unknown to himself, slips into the higher region of thought—and he carries back to this world of many the generalisation that he had long been in search of. More often it happens that the truth dawns first and then one goes on to substantiate it. A truth dawns on the mind of the philosopher and carries with it its own unshakeable certitude. And then he proceeds to 'prove' it by the help of the concrete mind. Or, he may reverse the process; he may proceed from the concrete to the abstract. But whatever be the method of work it is only in the region of the abstract that the long-sought-for truth can be found.

Now, if it is possible to enter the world of truth now and then, it is certainly possible to enter it at all times and at will. By repeated glidings into that world—the world of Ideas of Plato—a track is left behind which makes every subsequent attempt to touch that region easier. All forms of meditation are calculated to render the concrete mind so pliable, so governable that transition from it to the abstract can be effected consciously. The

lower mind has to cease to dally with the poses, must withdraw itself from them; it must turn its hope upward, must surrender itself to the will of the higher mind. From the world of poses to the world of universals, it is a long way indeed. And the only way to reach the latter is to repudiate the former, to cease to feed it. The former must die of inanition before the infinite richness of the latter can be gained.

### C. *The Attainment of the Universal through Action :*

The universal can also be reached through *pure* action. Of course action, whether inner or outer, is involved in the first two methods of attainment also, for manifestation involves action, and the latter must persist along with manifestation. But the Method of Action may subserve the same purpose as the other two methods by prominence being given more to Action than to the other modes. This is, however, not to say that Action can really divest itself either of concentrated thought or heightened enthusiasm, any more than the first two methods can dispense with action. Non-action means stagnation, non-existence, death. Action can be *pure* only when the thought that plans it and the enthusiasm that impels it are also pure. Actions ordinarily run into the ordinary grooves, the poses created by the necessities of the personality. As long as actions continue to feed and strengthen the personality, they are under the thraldom of the poses, and lose their vitality, their dynamic quality. They continue to eddy round and round the little holes, that is to say, the poses, which so plentifully cluster round the personality. The actions must be set free, as it were, from the choking, stifling black-holes of the poses. And it will not be an easy affair at all. For centuries of specialised thoughts and emotions associated with the actions and supplying them with energy and force of a kind will rebel against any attempt to release the actions from their tyranny. But as the actions become purer and more and more impersonal, and as more and more element of sacrifice enters into it, the restraining desires and thoughts gradually lose their hold and disintegrate, as it were, for lack of life, and only such desires and thoughts enter into the constitution of the man as will subserve his *pure* action.

The pure action is the action for the ideal, the impersonal, the universal, and therefore it will take one into the very domain of the universal. It does not matter what the action is, what its nature,—it may be a terrible war for the matter of that; if only there is the element of the impersonal in it, that action is ideal. It was in this spirit that Arjuna was asked to fight. It is in this spirit that awful cataclysms and widespread seismic charges convulse the world. Pure disinterested action shatters the poses that are keeping the life captured within, and the life becomes stronger and purer by the inevitable reaction of higher forces that now flow freely into it. When one habitually does pure actions, its mighty fire purges off the impurities from one's desires and thoughts. The dwelling-place of such a man is henceforward the region of the Pure.

### III.

The individual has indeed to repudiate the poses that he has created; it is indeed a terrible wrench, and the highest form of *Vairagya* is required before the poses can be so disowned and suffered to wither and die. For during centuries of close association a relationship has been formed which would stand aghast at the very suggestion of the breaking up of this intimacy. The poses have got to be broken to release the life-forces imprisoned within to enable the consciousness to form its centre in a higher region. But when we have broken all the poses, all the forms that till now contributed to our progress, a great and mighty change is experienced by the individual, a change as great and remarkable as the one that comes to an animal at the moment of its individualisation. The consciousness released from the poses now spreads its wings, soars high and low and *realises* the Brotherhood of beings that before this supreme experience was merely an intellectual ideal.

It will, however, be a mistake to suppose that there are no poses in the region of the abstract and the universal. Poses cannot be gotten rid of as long as there is the Manifestation of God, as long as there are individual centres of being in the bosom of the All. Again, evolution implies succession of

states,—and no change is conceivable without poses. Poses there must be in all spheres of being, however subtle and tenuous, though, of course, they must be suited to the individual's status in evolution, for they are instruments of advancement—and only delicate instruments can serve higher purposes. What kinds of poses are shaped in the higher reaches of being, what their nature and characteristics, the mere concrete mind can merely hazard a guess and no more. One thing seems to be quite certain, and that is that in the subtler regions the poses do not struggle for existence one against the other, as down here; they are not separative and repelling. On the contrary, their necessity is not grounded in difference but in sameness. So that all the poses of all individuals, instead of one repelling the other, will all hold together in mysterious affinity, only such part remaining outside the common circle as expresses the peculiar individuality of each being, that which alone makes him different from the rest. If we can imagine such a state of consciousness, we can understand how it is possible to take one's stand at the centre of Being and survey the whole field of being from within it. But poses must exist so long as there are individual centres of being, foci of consciousness. Nay, as long as the Mighty Poser Himself is there. He must needs have innumerable standpoints or poses. The poses will all vanish into nothingness with the lapsing of the One into the state of the Unmanifest.

KRISHNA NANDAN PRASAD.

## ECONOMIC CULTURE AS DEPICTED IN VALMIKI'S RAMAYANA.

### General Remarks.

In a paper, which I have contributed to the Sir Ashutosh Mookerji Jubilee Volume, on "*Some Economic Teachings of the Mahabharata*", I have tried to draw a picture of the economic condition of ancient India as revealed in the great Epic. I propose to draw up here a short picture of the economic culture as portrayed in the Sister-Epic, the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. It is not necessary for me, here, to discuss any question relating to the age of this Epic; neither, do I think it expedient to take up the question how much of this national poem filtered with the same spirit as the *Mahabharata*, was the production of only one man or whether it is simply "an artificial epic" (1), though it has been admitted to be "homogeneous in plan and execution" (2). But, whatever may be the divergence in view regarding such questions, no difference has arisen regarding its great popularity even down to the present day. Neither has its historical value, as the first "literary record of the passing of the Aryans beyond the Vindhya mountains, the southern boundary of *Aryavarta* and their penetration by armed force into Southern India" (3), been questioned.

I have taken up the book as it is now presented to the civilised world, though I have avoided, as a rule, references to the *Bala Kandam* which is considered to be spurious, gleaned what materials I have found regarding economic culture as depicted in it. As the outset, however, I must frankly confess that the materials at our disposal are not so abundant as I have been able to glean from the *Mahabharata*, and that the economic culture of the *Ramayana* period seems to be more primitive than what we find in the other. This is in perfect keeping with what Dr. MacDonnell observed, when he said, that, "the original part of the *Ramayana* appears to have been completed at a time when the epic kernel of the *Mahabharata* had not as yet assumed

(1) Macdonnell: *A Short History of Sanskrit Literature*. P. 281.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Havell: *Aryan Rule in India*.

definite shape"(4). True it is that even here, wealth signified not merely coins(5), but it consisted of horses, elephants, woollen sheets, and deer skins as well(6), just as we find in the *Mahabharata*(7), where paddy and oats, gems and beasts were included along with horses, elephants, kine, and gold as wealth(8), showing that even in those early days *Artha* had practically the same sort of meaning what wealth means in modern day economic phraseology. Kine, even then, was very likely the medium of exchange(9), signifying certainly a primitive stage of society. The price of a particular cow is also mentioned in terms of kine(10). Indeed, in almost all the passages which I have been able to collect, though gold and silver(11) are mentioned and I take it that these are general silver and gold coins(12), importance has been invariably given to kine. King Dasaratha does give gold and silver but he does it along with ten lacs of kine(13). When the King gives away the four quarters of the world to the sacrificial priests, they wanted as price thereof gems or gold but preferably kine. The King is indeed spoken of as dispensing with *dakshinas* profusely but he does it along with hundreds and thousands of kine(14). His daughter-in-law, the inimitable Sita also evidently attached more importance to kine than to gold or silver, for in addressing the Ganges(15), as well as the *Kalindi*(16), to propitiate them, she promises to offer thousands of kine. Certainly if she had liked and if gold and silver had been the general media of exchange, she would not have laid particular importance to the kine. We are told again

(4) Macdonell : *History*, p. 306.

(5) Compare *Ramayana Balakandam* V and also *Ayodhya* C.

(6) *Ayodhya* LXX.

(7) Compare *Mahabharata Sabha Parvan* : gambling scenes. Also *Adi*, LXXXV.

(8) Manufactures and produce of the land were also included.

(9) *Bala* LIII. Subsequent references will show that they are referred to in some other *Kandas* as well.

(10) *Ibid.* cf. J. R. A. S. 1901 (p. 876) where Mrs. Rhys Davids speaks of reckoning values of things by cows.

(11) *Bala* XIV *Ayodhya* LXX.

(12) Dr. Bhandarkar considers the references in the *Balakandam* to be very likely *Dinars* evidently on the ground that this *Kanda* was of later day.

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Ibid.* Also *Kishkindhya* V.

(15) *Ayodhya* LII.

(16) *Ibid* LIV.

that the banks of the *Gomati* were filled with kine(17). When Rama was giving away his wealth, he rewarded the Brahmana *Trijata* with cows and bullocks(18), though we find him giving away golden coins(19) as well. We also meet with the celebrated *Nishkas*(20) which figure prominently from the Vedic age. We see king *Kaikeya* giving two thousand *Nishkas* to Bharata. Certainly these *Nishkas* were coins and to these may be very well applied the oft quoted remarks of the authors of the *Vedic Index* that these could hardly be required for purposes of personal adornment(21).

As in the *Mahabharata*, so here also we find, *Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kama* are enjoined to be enjoyed equally(22). Rama asked Bharata whether he was doing so just as we find in the sister epic *Yudhishthira* being questioned repeatedly on the same topic. We also find *Kumbhakarna* admonishing Ravana and telling him that as the king had not pursued seasonably these three things he was to come by calamity(23). But while in the *Mahabharata* the King was asked whether in the last division of the night he reflected both over *Dharma* and *Artha*(24), here we find Rama enquiring of Bharata whether the latter revolved on the means of acquiring *wealth* only during the short hours of the night. But inspite of this, the advice of *Kumbhakarna* that a king who pursued seasonably righteousness or profit or desire or any two or all these combined truly had understanding, is indeed insignificant and reflects the spirit of the time showing that it was becoming more materialistic—a conception which we find more fully developed in the *Mahabharata*.

After having made some general remarks we pass on to make some observations on some particular topics.

#### AGRICULTURE.

The first point which we take up is the question of agriculture, the main industry of the people from the Aryan settle-

(17) *Ayodhya* XLIX.

Prof. Bhandarkar's *Carmichael Lectures*, 1821. Page 64 may also be referred to in this connection.

(18) *Ayodhya* XXXII.

(22) *Ayodhya* C.

(19) *Ibid.*

(23) *Lankakandam*, 63.

(20) *Bala* VI. *Ayodhya* LXX.

(24) *Sabha* V. 85, 86. Also *Adi* CCXXIV.

(21) *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 454.

ment down to the present age. As usual, importance is attached to this matter, here also. The King of the *Ramayana* like the King of the *Mahabharata*(25), was required to understand three kinds of learning namely, Vedas, Agriculture, and Commerce. And the question asked of Bharata by Rama, whether the agriculturists and the cowherds found favour in Bharata's sight is not only significant but certainly reminds one of the question which was asked of Yudhisthira by the great saint Narada(26). The cultivators and cowherds(27) were to enjoy happiness and the king was to secure unto them, what they wished for and remove from them what they did not like. Ayodhya is represented as full of cultivators(28), abounding in paddy and rice, the staple crops of those days(29) as well as of these. The King is represented as boasting of his kingdom abounding in corn(30). Villages are described as having ploughed fields on their skirts(31).

Not only the capital but the kingdom of *Kosala* as a whole abounded with corn(32) while the King of *Mithila* is described as engaged in ploughing(33) and finding out Sita, showing significantly the importance of agriculture(34). A Brahman is seen earning his livelihood by digging the earth with spades and ploughs(35) and evidently no stigma is attached to his action, though with the advance of the society, as in the *Mahabharata* we note how a Brahman's taking to agriculture was condemned(36) —a fact which also seems to prove that the society described in the *Ramayana* was more primitive than that described in the *Mahabharata*.

Famines also seemed to be in evidence, though we are told that during the reign of Rama, the people were to be free from the fear of famine(37). The fact however that the king was to have a clear idea regarding the prevention of famine shows that

(25) II. 5.

(26) *Sabha*, 577. & 578.

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) *Ayodhya*, LXVIII.

(29) *Bala*, 5.

(30) *Ayodhya*, 3, XIX.

(31) *Ibid*, XLII.

(32) *Ayodhya*, LXXXV.

(33) *Bala*, LXVI.

(34) cf. R. C. Dutt: *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 39.

(35) *Ayodhya* XXXIII.

(36) Compare *Mahabharata*, *Sabha*, XII, 91.

(37) *Bala*, I.

famines were not unknown even in those days(38). We are also informed that drought overtook the neighbouring kingdom of the king Romapada. The reason why this took place is significant from the view of political philosophy(39), the evil referred to coming in consequence of some default on the part of the king—a point which we propose to take up later on.

### ARTS AND INDUSTRIES.

The age had made sufficient progress so far as the arts were concerned. The artisans enjoyed special privileges and it is on record in the *Ramayana* that some of the higher craftsmen, specially those engaged in the canons of the rituals, the *Silpa-sastras* enjoyed a very high social status. Similarly those employed in irrigation works and in the preparation of public buildings enjoyed high privileges. Ayodhya was inhabited by all classes of them(40) and they had to be specially entertained(41). They seemed to have been specially protected and just as we find in the *Mahabharata*(42) and as advocated by *Kautilya*(43), forts were required to be provided with them(44). In the interesting list of trade which we get in the *Ramayana*(45) we find mention of various classes of artisans along with various other traders who evidently contributed to the welfare of the capital and the king, as well as of the people, along with others who helped in the formation and development of the economic life of the people. The list is a long one reminding one of the suggestive list put forward by Ajatasatru, the king of Magadha when he made his call upon the Buddha, but is worth mentioning. The list is mentioned when the traders formed themselves into a body and went out of Ayodhya to meet the Prince. It is as follows :—

A good number of jewellers, expert and agreeable pot-makers, persons skilled in machinery and the use of weapons; a band of followers, piercers of objects, dentists, extractors of wine, perfume dealers; renowned goldsmiths, physicians, wine

(38) *Ayodhya*, C.

(42) *Sabha*, V. 35.

(39) *Bala*, IX.

(43) *Arthashastra*.

(40) *Bala*, V.

(44) *Ayodhya*, C.

(41) *Ibid*, XIII.

(45) II, 90.

keepers, incense worshippers; washermen, weavers, painters, charioteers, bards, eulogist, peasants, makers of ramparts, makers of instruments, artisans, dealers in bellmetal vessels, cultivators, shop-keepers, fruit-sellers, garland-makers, planters, expert in brick-works, curd-keepers, and vendors, sellers of meat, dealers in lime, badge-makers, cotton-sellers, bow-makers, thread-sellers, expert in the manifold use of weapons, shoemakers, blacksmiths, makers of iron bars and bows, skilful chemists, knowers of past, present and future; brass and copper dealers, barbers, and actors. We cannot say definitely whether these constituted the guilds of those days, although it may have been so. The guilds are casually mentioned(46), though as usual unfortunately their distinct names are not given.

Some references which I have been able to collect give us a clear indication of the advance made in the various arts. Shafts were decked with gold(47), and occasionally feathered shafts were also plated with gold(48), while instances of bows decked with gold were also not rare(49). Coats of mail(50), gold hilted scimitars(51), and golden armours(52), show the progress made by the artisans in the process of manufacturing armours.

Not only the arts connected with war but in domestic utensils also progress could be noticed. Gold, silver and bellmetal vessels(53) were in use, while vessels made with barnished gold with silver covers(54), show not only the wealth and luxury of the age but prove also the development of the artisan. Bangles studded with gems(55), elegant ornaments(56), garland of well melted gold(57), and pendants of pure gold(58) typify the improvement in the art of the goldsmith referred to in the long list of trades, while cars decked in gold were also not wanting(59).

And finally, the description of the palace of Ravana ornamented with plastered jewelled pavements studded with all gems, crystals and pearls with elephants of burnished gold and speckless

(46) *Ayodhya*, LXVII.

(53) *Kishkindhya* L. & *Bala* LXXIII.

(47) *Kishkindhya* VIII.

(54) *Bala* XVI.

(48) *Aranyaka* III, XXI & XL.

(55) *Aranyaka* LII.

(49) *Sundara* XLVII.

(56) *Ibid* LIV.

(50) *Ayodhya* XL.

(57) *Ayodhya* IX.

(51) *Aranyaka* XLIV.

(58) *Aranyaka* LI.

(52) *Ibid*.

(59) *Ibid* XLIX.

white silver, girt round by a mighty golden wall, furnished with golden doors, with beautiful golden stairs embellished with ornaments of burnished gold, with lofty edifices having excellent windows made of ivory and silver, covered with golden nets—show how the art of the artisans had progressed and reminds one of the palaces of the “City of the Fairest” near Cordova displaying the wealth and the taste of the khalifs of Spain of a very late age. Well might Hanuman acclaim when seeing the bed-chamber of the Ceylonese king, of its jewelled stair-case, illumined with heaps of gems with its terraces of crystal and statues of ivory, pearls, diamonds, coral, silver and gold, adorned with jewelled pillars, that this must be *Swarga*, or the abode of the immortals(60).

#### TEXTILE INDUSTRIES.

But if progress had been made in arts, greater advancement had undoubtedly been made in the art of textile industries. Silk dress was very much in demand, and figured prominently. This would be evident from some of the instances quoted below. Sita when going to Dandaka wore silk(61), and even when in Dandaka she appeared in silk. Surrounded and oppressed by *chetis*, suffering from the pangs of separation from her dear lord we are surprised to find her clad in silk(62). Ravana came to her while she was in the forest clad in silk(63) and in describing her he spoke of Sita as dressed in silk.

Indeed, silk dress seems to have been in vogue. On the occasion of the marriage of Sita, Janaka gave among other presents a large quantity of silk dress(64). The queens of Dasaratha were clothed in silk when they welcomed Sita as a bride(65), while we find Rama and Sita clad in silk at home(66) and even an ordinary nurse is seen clad in silk dress(67). Bharata put on a dress of silk when he went out of the Capital to meet Rama in the forest(68). We have already mentioned the fact of Ravana's going to Sita clad in silk; we further find him sleeping

(60) *Sundara IX.*

(65) *Bala LXXVII.*

(61) *Ayodhya VI, XX, XXXII, LXXV.*

(66) *Ayodhya XXXVII and also LXXIX*

(62) *Aranyaka LXVI.*

(67) *Ayodhya VII.*

(63) *Ibid.*

(68) *Ayodhya LXXXIX.*

(64) *Bala LXXIV.*

with a dress of yellowish silk(69), while after his death he was decked in silk before cremation(70). Other stuffs were also in evidence. Common cloth was of course in use(71), along with ordinary linen garments(72), as well as silver and golden robes(73), excellent yellow cloth made of golden fibres(74), while coverlets studded with jewels(75), were also not rare.

Shepherds were particularly mentioned as residing in the Capital(76). Woollen stuffs were in evidence both in Ayodhya(77), as well as in Kishkindhya(78). Woollen sheets were also used(79), along with woollen carpets made of the fleece of the deer(80), while covered blankets were in evidence as well(81). Spacious and parti-colored woollen cloth figured in the bed-room of Ravana(82), and other evidences were also not wanting to show the wealth of textile industry.

### COMMERCE.

Commerce indicates not only the progress which a nation or a country makes but also the connection which it has with the other countries or nations of the world. As I have already observed the king of the *Ramayana* is enjoined to learn three kinds of learning namely Vedas, Agriculture and Commerce. That shows the importance which was attached to commerce though the list of countries having commercial connection with Ayodhya does not appear to be very long. Traders however did come from other lands with various kinds of merchandise to Ayodhya(83), which was also inhabited by merchants of various lands(84). We also note that opulent traders graced the army of the prince(85), when Rama was proceeding towards the forest but the want of details is due possibly to the fact that the king of Ayodhya possessed only a small territory. Instances are not rare, of persons ranging over

(69) *Sundara* X.

(78) *Kishkindhya* I.

(70) C XIII.

(79) *Ayodhya* LXX.

(71) *Kishkindhya*.

(80) *Ayodhya* LXX.

(72) *Ayodhya*.

(81) *Ayodhya* XXX.

(73) *Sundara*.

(82) *Sundara* IX.

(74) *Ibid.*

(83) *Ayodhya* LXVI.

(75) *Ibid.*

(84) *Bala* V.

(76) *Ayodhya* LXVII.

(85) *Ayodhya* XXXVI.

(77) *Bala* LXXIII.

the sea(86), or of merchants trafficking beyond the sea to bring presents to the king(87). Here we note of course, some paucity of details specially in comparison with the very long list which we find in the *Sabha-Parvan* of the *Mahabharata*. That even an inland-king like Guhaka could command hundreds of *Kaivarta* young men to lie in wait to obstruct the enemy's passage with five hundred ships which though fit for a naval fight were very likely employed for trading purposes as well shows the trading propensity of the people of those days. The directions given by Sugriva, the monkey leader for the search of Sita, mentioning various places where Ravana could have concealed her are significant as indicating the names of places which were then known to the people of Southern India and which probably enjoyed commercial connection with that portion of the continent. The leaders of the monkeys were urged to go to the cities and mountains in lands in the sea(88), showing that they had maritime commercial connection with these places. They were also ordered to go to the land of *Kosakaras*(89), about which attempts have been made to identify it with China which is said to have produced silk worms. The *Yavana Dwipa*, whatever it may refer to (we have no indication to know whether this reference is spurious) and *Suvarna Dwipa* which has been identified with Java and Sumatra were not excluded. Mention is also made of *Lohita-Sagara* which probably referred to the Red Sea of the modern day and might probably refer also to the Erythrean Sea of the ancient. Making all allowance we may come to the conclusion that commerce had attained some degree of progress.

My brief and incomplete references to questions relating to economic culture would be still more incomplete if I do not refer to the important question relating to the economic connection between the king and his subjects, a subject which I have dealt with at large in my paper on "*Economic Teaching of the Mahabharata*" submitted for the Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Jubilee Volume. I can here refer briefly to some of the statements in the *Ramayana* concerning this important question.

Great importance has been attached by Prof. Hopkins in his

(86) *Ayodhya* LXXII.

(87) *Ibid.*

(88) *Kishkindhya* XL.

(89) *Ibid.*

"The Position of the Ruling Caste", to the passage in the *Ramayana* in *Ayodhya Kandam*, "Are thy incomings great and outgoings slender?"(90). He has considered this passage along with other passages in the *Mahabharata* and has observed, "The possibility of the kingdom's existing without taxation seems specially to irritate the compilers of the epic. They revert to the subject again and again and prove that the king must have wealth; his army, his happiness, his virtue depend on it. As a robe conceals a woman's nakedness, so does wealth conceal sin; therefore let him get wealth, even if he be so sinful". And he goes on to explain the twelfth book in his own way and says that it means that "let the king tax the people they rule as much as they can; for poverty is a crime".

It is really unfortunate that so much misconception exists regarding all matters relating to ancient India. Commentators, take up detached passages and I may venture to add, come to hasty conclusions. Prof. Hopkins has himself sometime admitted that in the epic all taxation more than legal was decried. We find that the king was to impose taxes gradually and with mildness. We see how Rama was told that "the sin of that monarch is mighty that taketh a sixth part of the subjects' incomes but doth not protect them as sons"(91). We also find that the king that protected his subjects righteously was entitled to a fourth part of the great religious merit reaped by an ascetic(92)—an injunction which was practically repeated in the *Uttarakandam* that a king who ruled well, enjoyed the sixth part of the merits of his subjects(93). And therefore it follows that the king who failed to rule well did not enjoy the merits of his subjects.

The idea was that by exacting taxes for the subjects but failing to do this duty, the king was robbed of his merits and all sins of his subjects devolved on him. That was a very important consideration in those times when very great importance was paid to rules of religion which decided all the important questions of the day.\*

J. N. SAMADDAR.

(90) Chap. C.

(91) *Aranyaka VI.*

(92) *Aranyaka LVIII.*

(93) *Uttara LXXIV.*

\*Read at the Second Session  
of the Oriental Conference.

## FURTHER LEAVES FROM A SEA CHRONICLE

### VI

#### SEX AND SNOBBERY.

A murky nonsense got into my head early this morning and it was a difficult matter to work against such odds. I needn't say I allowed the gentle art full scope. For I consider talking nonsense to be even a higher art than talking shop before company. And I did make an effort to pursue my enquiries—largely cynical—into the subject but the fear of a leash as poignant as the companion danger of a stigma to my powers of conversation dissuades me from inflicting the essay on my readers. You take my word for it that it is highly amusing and instructive to wit—perhaps some inauspicious occasion will force me to reveal it to a public gaze and then alone would I feel the absurdity of my faith in it. But grant me till then—won't you?—the self-mirrored delusion.

Perhaps the same spirit that hovered over my morning thoughts conveyed me helplessly to the brim of an avalanche. It is a very mixed metaphor I am using and perhaps a wholly inappropriate one. But I can hardly think of any other. You would laugh at me if I tell you that.....but I don't wish to be laughed at particularly in matters so delicate as concern your relations with the gentler sex. Now I have let the cat out of the bag—another hackneyed metaphor, God forbid!—and you will bear with me the relation of an unheroic tale.

We have on board ladies of various hues and complexions of mentality and it was my privilege and honour to be given oft an opportunity to dissect and analyse a few specimens. Our Scotty was the rag of the group. A cultivated though not very cultured young woman, just hovering about what we call middle age, she would reveal her maidenly unequanimity at the slightest provocation to sex affairs. Perhaps crossed in love and thereby dedicated to a forced celibacy she had learnt to scorn the mere man and his

fads and fancies. She had seen a good deal of the world and her hunger for adventures—a hunger precipitated to my judgment by her single state—was leading her on to a school for derelicts and orphans somewhere in India. She is not likely to come across this unkind page and I can make bold to betray some of the impressions she unconsciously gave me. I have talked of an avalanche and my inexpedient hazard towards it. She certainly waxed no warmer than a cool calculated block of ice when the talk turned from mere raillery to the serious topic of love and marriage. And yet behind the veil I could disturbedly feel the anguish and the langour for it. It would be unchivalrous on my part to betray my knowledge of the reality of her feelings but deliberately and step by step we led on to our personal topics and it was obvious she could no longer conceal behind the chilled sanctity of prolonged maidenhood her desire and scorn for mere man. I wasn't cruel enough to probe any further and I think she felt grateful when I laughed out the matter in mere nonsense. But what a glimpse it gave me into the sex passion ! Be it not understood that I craved for an experience—I had a sanguine expectation from similar episodes I have been fortunate to witness that whereas Man can become selfcontained without an extra dose of love or sexual gratification, to woman the sex passion is all in all. One cannot blind oneself to the knowledge that the admittedly great animal passion in Man once satisfied is temporarily out of the way and he devotes himself to other pursuits with a wholeheartedness that would signify no other interest. But to woman it is different. Her sex passion is the one continuous flow of sensations—the satisfaction is but the climax of an ever rising, ever falling stream. No work she touches is but adorned by the master feeling; no instinct is but supervised by this governor. We will trace in this distinction the supreme contrariness between man and woman—the puzzle and enigma of all social reformers.

And why has woman fallen down?—an insoluble puzzle. But has she? I don't consider she has been ousted from her sphere of predominance in the one passion she excels. Man falls humbly to her feet at the mere bidding of her eyelashes, and man knows and feels her power. "To every man, as Michelet has

put it, the woman whom he loves is as the Earth was to her legendary son ; he has but to fall down and kiss her breast and he is strong again." He knows that the gentler sex plays a prominent part in his life and feelings but only a part. On the other side sex is the one whole absorbing passion and there is no getting away from it. Hence at once her great power and abject dependence on Man. Or put it the other way if you like as Edward Carpenter says in his beautiful book, "*Love's coming of age*" :—

"Feeling that she really somehow mastered him on the affectional plane, he in revenge on the physical plane has made the most of his superior strength and of his power over her; or more probably not thinking about it at all he has simply allowed all along the sex passion (so strong in him) to prompt him to his mastery".

And so it came about that woman became a "cross between an angel and an idiot" (Havelock Ellis)—the ineffectual beautiful bird with gay plumage kept in a cage because of her very loveliness.

These are sincere recapitulations but they help to look forward. And I never deny the glorious aim and privilege to save the ideals of true womanhood from the crude mess of potage they exhibit to-day. But I deplore the Feminism of the movement, that is, the militant masculinity of it. You cannot make men moral by an Act of Parliament; neither can you make women masculine in their feelings by any social patchwork howsoever elaborate. It is the inherent attribute and pride of the fair sex to revel in one master passion and revel gloriously. And not for worlds would I disturb the lofty luxuriance of this attitude. But it does not convey any assent to the degrading and dehumanising shackles we have forged round our comrades of life. And if we find our modern women to be but a bundle of weak and flabby sentiments, it is directly due to men's treatment of them as mere "idiotic angels". Their ideals to-day are but "incredible holds and webs of silliness, millinery and every kind of dyspeptic depletion" according to Walt Whitman, and the aspiration to get out of these conditions is the vital interest and favoured prejudice of every right-thinking man. There is nothing original in these

assertions—they reflect but the brilliant persuasions of Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter and a host of other thoughtful writers on the subject.

With such preoccupied notions of womanhood it appeared only wasted eloquence on Scotty's part to attempt to provoke me into a retort as she denounced the culpable egotism and cruel selfishness of man in his treatment of the other sex. But you wouldn't disappoint a passionate advocate were it only as a tribute to the passion. I wouldn't join in her denunciations and that seemed enough to fan her distemper. An abrupt visit to her cabin brought her up accompanied by a copy of Ella Wheeler Wilcox with a blazing bookmark. Scotty pointed with triumph to the marked place as she threw the book at my face saying, "there—that defines me literally and I wouldn't waste any more words on you." I looked up and smiled before I tackled the bookmark. It turned up at the famous lines of Wilcox entitled "Two sinners"—The girl gone astray in her youth with none to welcome her back amongst *decent* folk and the young exuberant wild sinner of the male genus returning like the Prodigal son and feted on the fattened calf. A contrast that speaks for itself and contains a pictorial maladjustment that is, alas! literally too true in social life. But I wasn't in the mood to yield and with a teasing pleasure I did quietly turn over the pages and directed Scotty's attention to Wilcox's own lines : "Give thy love freely; do not count the cost". That was a clincher and we decided to turn over the topic with a pleasantry that testified to our good faith and honesty of thought.

But the troubles were not yet over. We had amongst our interested auditors a Scandinavian lady of married rank. She made little of my capitulation and bluntly decided that if woman were at all in a squalid state it was entirely the fault of their own sex. Men were such dear little creatures that one could twist them round one's fingers as one directs. Woman has such a glowering power over the male sex that almost any of her desires could be instantly fulfilled if only she knew how to use her powers. I was listening with an amused interest to the new turn the subject had taken and I had full time to notice the particular features of my fair seconder. She had the same broad, square

features as characterised another Scandinavian lady I claim to know and I wondered if the same mentality prevailed here too. I wasn't to be satisfied though in my curiosity but during the voyage one could discern little tricks and touches that reminded of the stock both hailed from. But this is by the way. Our lady friends gave quite an exhibition of their dialectics and one felt sorry for Scotty as the ultimate criterion for decision was relied to be the blessed state of nuptiality the other claimed as her strong source of experience. I have noticed it very frequently that in discussions ladies always turn on their own experiences and derive prejudices and tastes from what they know of themselves as fact. I am of course not talking of the highly trained girls from Universities who can afford a detached look and interest, but even there the possibility is that individual inclinations are largely derived from personal effects. And when personalities drag a discussion to a *tu quo que* level it is time one intervened and saved the rioters. We were nearing such an inflammable stage when a fortunate call for wash before lunch put a stop to the rather acrimonious feelings we would have been pained to see the exhibit of. At the same time one felt regret, for when ladies work themselves up to such a pitch they appear to me to be most delightful, notwithstanding G. B. S's advice. The story goes that a genius in a newspaper office invited Bernard Shaw to answer the query "When are women most interesting?" The following reply was received.

"Sir,—you are tempting me to make a fool of myself.  
Get thee behind me."

But the category of Shavian fools is not an unpleasant one. And I wouldn't have missed the delightful pose particularly when there is thrown in a few shades of scandalised heads, a few muttered chirpings at moral heresy.

We continued desultory hits at each other over our shoulders at the dining table and the one solitary voyager from my country came in for a few handfuls because of his Highland wife. There couldn't be any malice behind the quiet question to me whether such a racial intermixture brought happiness and if their modes of life do not result in a clash otherwise accidental? But it was snobbery that led on to the differential talk on the Black and

White problem in Africa. Even the Scotch lady who had adopted my land by marriage would sneer at the African students that she came in touch with at the Glasgow University. Her vision was limited to her own outlook—what she wondered at was how could white girls tolerate the company of these big, black hurly-burlyies! And I had all the ado to conceal the malicious smile that almost hovered on the verge of a blasphemous burst.

Racial prejudice is not an outright sin to be grievously condemned. It is only a wide generalisation from the instinct of parish patriotism, whose righteous cultivation is the foundation of local self-government and whose blossom is the crowning sense of civic consciousness. We keep away by a natural sense from an outlandish stranger howsoever attractive he may show himself to be. The blunt edge of unfamiliarity may be smoothed down by cultivation but that is essentially a culture method and never instinctive. Prejudice, instinctive prejudice against another race subsists in human breast as long as egotism reflects his worldly nature. And I don't quarrel with the dominant white races of the West who have by assiduous energy built up a hegemony of exploitation and supremacy and who display an instinctive sneer at their subject races. I am not sure if I wouldn't display the same weakness if I belonged to such a stock and were bred up in the atmosphere of domination. Call it snobbery if you will, but it is a cultivated habit and can be eradicated if considered evil, only by careful energy. What may the reasons be that led William Makepeace Thackeray to indict and ridicule the English nation as a community of snobs, but I believe there can hardly be any dissent from the view that an imperial sway and power contributes towards freshening the growth of this habit. As for the "smug somnambulism of respectability" which provokes even a cool thinker like Bertrand Russel into a diatribe, it is not far removed from the altruistic desire of every sentient being to raise himself; and when a failure occurs, it is veiled over by a veneer of pretence. Carlyle knew that not making enough money was a veritable hell for Englishmen—and for the matter of that for all human beings—but he also knew that there was another hell, the hell of not being a "gig man". But it is not merely territorial, the habit is universal in its own

little ways. Differing opportunities of life show the respective valences which each country exhibits. Read these lines from Leonard A. Strong's Impressions from the streets of Dublin :—

“I sweeps the road an' lifts me hat  
As persons come an' persons go,  
Me lady an' me gentleman;  
I lifts me hat—but yous don't know !  
I've money by against I'm dead,  
A hearse an' mourners there will be :  
An, every sort of walkin' man  
Will stop an' lift his hat to me.”

There can be no higher test of critical faculty than to recognise and allow for such prejudices as “entail on every human heart”. I will be doing injustice to the true facts of life if unreasoningly I permit the irritating feeling of subjection to overlook the instinctive features in the prejudice that the dominant races develop. But I am not to be understood to deny the value of acquiring a more charitable outlook and thereby broaden the human community of Men. It is a plant well worth cultivation which promises rich blossoms of human camaraderie. Notwithstanding such allowance there remains a deep curse on domination and its protégés and we would do well to avoid a fall in such psychological attitudes as result in a virtual killing of man by man.

We are experiencing a warm spell, or at any rate we imagine so. The warmth of body initiates a series of ennui—mental and physical—in a wonderful sequence that one only gasps at the impudence of human restlessness. Nothing seems to satisfy and there appears to be no quarrel with anything or anybody. The limited physical movement on board the ship annoys you at times to desperation. You are always up against the problem, how to spend the day? It is all very well that the day is slacked over, the evening somehow spent and the night slept through but it wouldn't differentiate an existence from a life. And then an occasional but simple lapse into existence is hilarious enough for one who has been an active “liver” all his life, but to one who has not had the opportunity so far to be prompted by instinct or culture to differentiate one from the other, the transition appears full

of ridicule and to a degree preposterous. Would you laugh when you are on the threshold of a glorious vista which may turn out to be mere delusion—life or hell mean so much, yet the weights are never counted. You smile but the ridicule provokes laughter while here pity condenses the smile into a whimper after an effort at such. How puerile the show appears, yet how portent—let one who doesn't believe me take a cruise amidst the Mediterranean with a crowd of young wash-outs or aged nincompoops.

You are a student all your life and imagine when the promised effort to earn some bread and butter seems to provide an exhilarating novelty, the hanging period evokes nothing but the baser vocalities of a human being and curses and damnation become as cheap as perfunctory delights in classic music of which you do not understand one note. The puzzle cuts again too sharp indeed when one considers how to conduct the daily routine—on board a ship this time—with a decent enough propriety. You cannot skip and jump and romp all your time; you cannot turn it over in sandals and shop. To continue your scholastic whittling down of time appears as the last resort and you lay down your book with pleasure when you can get up a game of dominoes. Dominoes even don't kill time fast enough. You fall back to your meagre ration of reading material. How fine a subject for irony and caricature! A clever mind would deliver skits on the impossible helplessness. Human literature has had too high a sense of its worth and first rate minds have never even thought of calculating the worth of laughter.

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## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

### A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

#### Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Movement.

A survey of the Literature of the nineteenth century will throw into relief the historical development of the modern Aesthetic cult of which Oscar Wilde is a convincing representative. The movement originated in an abstract attempt to recapture the Greek conception of life, at the basis of which was held to be an appreciation of the beautiful. The Greeks were peculiarly responsive to the appeals of objective beauty. All their sense-organs seemed to be delicately attuned to the minutest variations in one's empirical consciousness. In this, they were sharply distinguished from that other important family of the primitive Aryans, the Hindus, with their gaze for ever averted to the distant, to the Great Beyond "pinnacled dim in the intense inane." The re-discovery of the Elgin Marbles—that is to say, what are known as such)—emphasised this aspect over all others, and for a time, put into shade even the subtle dialectics of the Aristotelians, which was all that the 18th century to all appearance, knew of Greek life and art, as disclosed in the classicism of that Age, being mainly dependant on the observance of certain formulas, passing under the name of Aristotle. The Romantic poets—pre-eminently Keats and Landor—found that Greek sculpture was characterised by an aggressive attention paid to the minutest detail of the human anatomy—feeling in the physical harmony of man's body the realisation of the ideal of Beauty. They looked with wonder at the marvellous perfection of a statue of Appollo, or of Aphrodite, with the system and repose of a graceful personality firmly drawn and every characteristic outlined with the confident strength of an artist. And not only in the plastic art, in their poetry and their religion also, they were overwhelmingly concrete and definite. They shrank from the contemplation of eternity of the infinite with almost childlike terror. "Eternity teased them out

of thought," as it did their greatest modern disciple, the *Cockney Keats*. Their conception of God as being exalted and perfected manhood is distinctly artistic. We can clearly perceive even to-day the venerable father of the Gods, *Teus*—stern, yet magnificently indulgent to humanity,—with his mighty thunder-bolt in hand; or the impetuous and implacable *Poseidon*, cleaving the ocean with his terrible trident; or *Vulcan*, mighty of frame, his chest drawn back, his whole anatomy vividly discernible in the act of striking the red-hot anvil. This anthropomorphism also distinguished the Hindus; but their gods were not only super-men; they were more often defiantly exaggerated specimen of humanity. Their anatomy was not conceived in accordance with the realities of life, but with the ideal fancies of philosophers. Hence originated those weird and grotesque distortions of their divinities which perplex the western student of Eastern sculpture. The Greeks visualised the most abstract conceptions into concrete facts; but the Hindus spiritualised the most concrete ideas into highly abstract images;—objective art as opposed to subjective art.

Keats was the first poet of modern times who shared the anthropomorphic imagination of the Greeks. During the Romantic Revival, when poets under the influence of a temporary revulsion from the implacable modernity of life fled to the ancient past,—the nuptial and pictorial Middle Ages and the radiantly beautiful Greek art and life, as conceived by them, found definite expression in poetry. The Hellenic aspect was most vividly expressed in Keats and Landor. Landor imbibed this spirit through constant study of Greek antiquities. By careful discipline, by a rigid economy in the use of words, by subjecting his emotions to the criticism of a cultured scholar, he was able to crystallise the external aspect of Hellenism, and realised that austerity of beauty, which we see in Pater. Keats had spiritual affinities with the Greeks, and hence, although lacking the massive scholarship of Landor, he was able to recapture the very essence of Classic art.

The aspect of Epicureanism, which has come to be associated with Hellenism, was also developed by Landor in some of his most vital dialogues, *e.g.*, those between Epicurus and his girl

pupils Ternissa and Leontian or between Aspasia and Pericles. This was the aspect which was emphasised in the futile fatalism of some of Tennyson's poems and, more brilliantly, in the Lucretian pessimism of much that Swinburne wrote.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to discuss at what precise point and in what particular form the later French Romanticism—of Hugo, Musset and Beaudelaire—percolated into English Literature. But undoubtedly Walter Pater, with his intellectual detachment and aesthetic pre-occupations owed not a little to this new filiation, besides adopting the indigenous elements as outlined above. This explains the new intellectual Hedonism which characterised the characteristic epilogue to his studies in the History of the Renaissance (1873) and which clearly emphasised his divergence from the ethical bias which Ruskin, a typical Victorian, introduced in his luminous art-criticisms. Pre-Raphaelitism, which was owned both by Ruskin and by Swinburne and Pater, was fundamentally a curious mixture of the pictorial symbolism of the Middle Ages and the sensuous yet disciplined aestheticism of ancient Greece. Pater acknowledged the latter aspect, but rejected the former.

In 1892, Oscar Wilde's striking novel, *The Picture of Dorian Grey* appeared, and Walter Pater pointed out its beauties in the *Fortnightly Review*. This was fitting; for in Oscar Wilde, the aesthetic teachings of Pater, with their definite anti-Victorian tendencies found their brilliant and extreme exponent. The fastidious appreciation of beauty, which distinguished Pater, not only from Ruskin, but also from the cultured intellectualism of Mathew Arnold, naturally culminated in a morbid self-consciousness, an entire lack of disinterested objectivity, which is the keynote of all that Oscar Wilde wrote. For you cannot be fastidious without being self-conscious. Oscar Wilde accepted the Epicurean and artistic philosophy of Pater, without the least reservation. He never denied that his highest ideal was pleasure; and the attainment of pleasurable sensations his foremost object in life. To recoil from this by reason of the admonitions of moralists, implied precisely that sort of cowardice, which a man, with an inherent pre-disposition to Hedonism, strongly resents. Hence Oscar Wilde laughed at moral ideals and moral regu-

lations. Life, radiant with the elusive promise of infinite enjoyment, must not be approached in the spirit of an ascetic, who denies himself all natural desires in order to satisfy the theoretical principle of doctrinaires;—this was the one argument, the one inexhaustible idea, upon which Oscar Wilde played with the illimitable resources of his brilliant wit, and the infinite capabilities of an irrepressible fancy. *The Picture of Dorian Grey* is full of this frank and jubilant Hedonism. It is not merely the worship of Beauty, as in Keats, but the enjoyment of beauty, as a negative standard,—something opposed to the discipline of moral ideals;—familiar, as an attitude, to all acquainted with the poetry, e.g., of Arthur Symons or Ernest Dowson, or even of Walt Whitman. Of course, it originated in the misinterpretation of the Greek Ideals, by the early Romanticists, who focussed their attention, not so much on the 5th and 6th centuries as on the decadence of the 4th century when Stoicism struggled to make head against the onrush of an irresponsible Epicurianism. But in the later 19th century under the stimulus of the cultured Pater and men like Swinburne and Whistler, it became a defiant enemy to mid-Victorian Puritanism, and it is only in recent times that the Sanity of Englishmen is making itself felt against the excesses of this new-fangled cult.

Oscar Wilde looked upon life, not with the steadfast gaze of a seer which was the attitude of Whitman, but with that of eager expectancy. To him, life was a “rose’s hope which yet unblown.” He felt that an artist has no right to bind himself to responsibility and to fight shy of the banalities of existence. “No artist,” he held, “has ethical sympathies.” Sympathies, and antipathies may be desirable in the actors of the pageant of life; but an artist is only a spectator. There is absolutely nothing that is inviting in this attitude, nothing that braces us for the conflicts of life. It is not the matter, therefore, but, as in writers like G. K. Chesterton, it is the manner of his exposition that startles our attention. No one could excel him in the cynical exposition of creed. He was brilliant, arresting, aggressive. Cynicism is usually a feature of French and Italian literature, but it was something new in the healthy vitality of English literature, which is essentially serious. The name of Oscar

Wilde precludes all ideas of seriousness. In attacking the beauties of spoilt society, he himself assumed the tone of an irresponsible trifler, who is always anxious to solve the great questions of life in some provocative paradox, which imprisons our attention but dissolves before the searching scrutiny of a philosophical enquiry. It is this that distinguishes the dramas of Wilde from those of his contemporaries Shaw, Pinero or Jones. They were serious about life and its problems. They felt that life was too rigorous in its demands to be contemplated with irresponsible levity.

Yet behind this general attitude, the careful reader will detect a note of tragic importance, which is distinctly visible in all his dramas, but definitely realisable in none, for the precise reason that Oscar Wilde disclaimed all definition and definiteness. But it comes out prominently in that book of paradoxical criticism, *Intention*. The name is symbolical of his temper. He denied all ambitions, with their stamp of definitely progressive achievement; but he did believe in mere "intentions"—in the passing whims of an athletic imagination, in the unlocalised dreams of idle moments, in all things that are dynamic, and never assume complete shape. He felt, perhaps more keenly than any of his countrymen, the utter meaninglessness of life; and the futility of all philosophy when confronted with the tragic realities of life. He could never be serious without perceiving at the very same time the eternally comic aspect of human life, presided over by that grim trifler—Destiny. It was the attitude which Shakespeare noted in the *Measure for Measure*;—

Man! Proud man!

Dress'd in a brief of little authority,  
Most ignorant when he is most assured,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
As make the Angels weep.

It is the attitude of all humorists, in the sense that Meredith indicated in his *Essay on Comedy*, an attitude—impersonal, critical, intellectual, and hence supremely self-conscious. Thus when Shakespeare viewed life from the standpoint of the humourist, he no doubt felt the pitiful insignificance of human passions, and in such characters as Hamlet, Jacques, The Fool

in *Lear*,—and even in *Thersites*—his laughter rings loud and clear, sometimes even with a discordant harshness that is grating to our ears, because it is as the laughter of the Gods, as it were.

This attitude, however, is the characteristic of the old age of the world. Our modern world is tired. It cannot think seriously without becoming pessimistic. Hence it seeks recreation in such whimsical paradoxes as characterise the writings of Oscar Wilde. His dramas have no action—properly so called. The whole episode moves round some flimsy intrigue. The entire interest, therefore, centres round the brilliant conversation of the chief actors, who move about the stage of life exchanging brilliant repartees and enjoying the intellectual stimulus of a brilliant wit-combat. It is only a recreation, a temporary relief from the intensity of real life; an attempt to banish all cares by making them ludicrous in their self-important emphasis; and may be traced to the novels of Disraeli.

This is how Wilde gave practical shape to Pater's criticism—Art for Art's sake. He felt that an artist has no business to prove anything. Literary utilitarianism must be banished at all costs, for "all art is useless"—except as a thing of beauty. The idea that obsessed modern writers—that art has a social value—was combated by the *Æsthetic* school, and in this they were doing a service to literature. For no one can deny that if the philanthropic motion had been less prominent in the works of Ibsen or Bernard Shaw, their work from the purely literary standpoint would have been superior. The true artist should seek to interpret beauty and to create beauty. But, what the *Æsthetes* failed to comprehend is that a "Palace of Art," which is not also a "House of Life" cannot be healthy. The most difficult thing in life is to appreciate real Beauty as distinguished from Beauty that is sham—the improvised artifice of insincere artists or the capricious devices of amateurs. For the Beauty that sheds a permanent influence on the human mind is not dependant on anything local or adventitious—resulting from the mere irritation of prurient tastes;—but on a spiritual perception of the inner harmony of things, the soul that regulates the rhythm of external activity, and resolves the clash by a subtle adjustment and adjudication from within.

In almost the last book that he wrote, *De Profundis*, Oscar Wilde, for once, threw off the garb of dilettantism and stood before the world as a man who felt intensely and thought profoundly. It is one of the most wonderful auto-biographies in world's literature,—fit to be placed side by side with the confessions of Rousseau or of Strindburg. *De Profundis* is the revelation of a spiritual re-birth, the salvation of a human soul from the despotism of a cult of negation. For hitherto Oscar Wilde had refused to face life bravely, but had taken shelter under meaningless paradoxes and epigrams. Now, for once compelled to think sincerely, he laid aside the attitude of unreality and persiflage, and revealed that latent wisdom, which flashed out even from his general outlook of insincerity.

The prurient curiosity regarding the sins of this remarkable man need not be gratified. The seductive concoction which drained out of the alembic of bitter experience, was drugged with all the vivid enchantment of Hell. He found that "the primrose path of dalliance" can only lead to "everlasting bonfire". Therefore, in *De Profundis*, he discussed, in brilliant rhapsody, the deeper problems of the human soul—problems of sin and sorrow. He emphatically asserted that "our greatest happiness is in this—that suffering is there." The object of life is not the negation of pain, nor the negation of pleasure; but the realisation in love and faith of all that came to man, to accept it with chastened humanity of soul; and thus gain completion.

There are people who call this attitude of Oscar Wilde, a theatrical pose. But for myself, I cannot help believing that, in Tagore's words, "it is like the cry of the infant which would be dumb if it had no faith in its mother." A message like this truly beauties life, making it sweet to live, sweet to endure. Those acquainted with the sordid story of his life will realise easily the intense pathos of such confessions and such faith taught by experience, as are contained in many passages of *De Profundis*;—"I used to live entirely for pleasures", he said, "I shunned suffering and sorrow of every kind. I hated both....." But experience taught him that "out of sorrow have the worlds been made; and at the birth of a child or a star, there is pain." Such words again as these—"There is before me so much to do that

I would regard it as a terrible tragedy if I died before I was allowed to complete at any rate a little of it. I see new developments in art and life, each one of which is a fresh mode of perfection. I long to live so that I can explore what is no less a new world to me. Do you want to know what this new world is? It is the world in which I have been living. Sorrow, then, and all that it teaches one, is my new world."—Can these be the words of an insincere man?

*De Profundis* is the severest indictment of the Æsthetic cult, and the life which is apt to be its reflex. The Ethical basis of life, as Rabindranath Tagore shows in *Sadhana*, is the complement of the Æsthetic. (See *The Realisation of Beauty* in *Sadhana*.) But Oscar Wilde did well to emphasise the incongruity of the utilitarian motive in art, and insisting on the claims of dis-interested objectivity as the highest aim in all art-creation. And this is his final claim on the gratitude of the lovers of literature.

DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH.

## THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

### The Crystal Coffin.\*

*The Crystal Coffin* forms the fourth volume of the series *Les Fleurs de France* translations of outstanding work by celebrated French authors. It comes to the English readers with the reputation of a tempestuous welcome on its first appearance. We feel heavily prejudiced as we find the name Rostand on the cover, for there is no greater prejudice than the bias of expectation. Edmond Rostand, the immortal genius who wrote *Cyrano de Bergerac*, who sang songs of the sweetest melody in *Chanticleer* and *l'Aiglon* and gave to the world a treasure to abide—of such Edmond was born the Rostand, Maurice Rostand, who now presents his credentials through *Le Cercueil de Cristal*. We opened the book in great expectation and we were not disappointed.

*The Crystal Coffin* is a book of the heart, a chronicle of human introspection, a 'Journal of the Soul' as the author himself terms it. The plan is admirably simple and the story is told in the form of an autobiography. Young de Merville, the aristocratic son of a distinguished father, somehow comes to discredit the *raison d'être* of human existence, and in his struggle to regain the basic faith of living finds a disconcerting conflict of ideals between his father and himself. The real motif of the book, as the writer of the Introduction to this English translation says, "is the strained relationship between a parent and a child, the inability of the youth to break down the barrier of misunderstanding rising between himself and the father he idolised, so that eventually, though they lived under the same roof, they were practically strangers to each other." But behind this clash is the all-Supreme Love of the son who craves with all the earnestness of a true faith for a reconciliation: "Ideas are nothing. ....They are of no value compared with human beings. Human beings are all that matter, and no ideas must be allowed to come between them. Not one of them can compensate for the suffering of a human creature. Even the greatest is not worth a minute of grief which hurts like physical pain."

But there is no conciliation. The man of the mind overcomes his heart's pleading by the sheer strength of his will; the

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\**The Crystal Coffin* by Maurice Rostand (A.M. Philpot, Ltd., London), 1921.

man of the heart dissipates his disappointment in fastidious pleasure and sensuousness. A bombshell is suddenly thrown amidst such routine when the prelude of the great war aggravates the conflict. The father rigidly proclaims his faith in 'My country right or wrong'—a Duty to *La Patrie* which "appeared to him like a categorical, definitive, imperious command, a flaming archangel of the soul to which everything else had to be sacrificed". The unregenerate son flees to the Alpine Highlands—"a wild wandering in order to kill time instead of killing others, feeling almost that to be useless was a kind of atonement." The father eventually proves the strength of his convictions by dying for them. The son hears the news of the approaching death of his father far away in the Alps and hurries to the bedside. Unstrung by the personal loss, he is almost stunned out of his vicious acceptance of life with no reason to live for. Ultimately he expatiates for his sins on the tomb of his father by committing suicide.

It is difficult to criticise about the viewpoints of the father and the son for there is so much of genuine appeal in their respective attitudes. The rhapsodies of the analysing soul of the son may sound hysterical to a mordant reader obsessed with the flashes of the materialistic civilisation, but those who look forward to a better designing of things in this mad world than a recurring clash of arms and consequent slaughter of man by man every continuing decade, to those who have their eyes on the constructive uplifting of the human soul (in its collective aspect) toward a full appreciation of the link of human Love—to such the beauties of Rostand's apostrophy on Jaures' death or his sublime invocation to the glowing Sun which relentlessly looks upon the slaughter would carry a special charm and gratification. There can be no greater appeal than the call to human kindness and human love which an inspired artist in his pathetic, shrinking, terrified abhorrence from war and war's victim, GLORY, presents to us in these pages. And Maurice Rostand deserves the thanks of the youths of this world for laying bare almost austereley the very depths of his soul. *The Crystal Coffin* is a book which will repay perusal times over again.

W.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

### Recent Literature of Indian Economics.

1. *Sixty years of Indian Finance.* By K. T. Shah (Bombay Chronicle Press, Bombay), 1921.
2. *General Review of the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in India.* (During the Fiscal years 1919-20 and 1920-21.), By Thomas M. Ainscough (Imperial House, Kingsway, London) 1921.
3. *Trade Relations between England & India, (1600-1896).* By C. J. Hamilton, (Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta), 1920.
4. *Dawn of Modern Finance in India.* By Prof. V. G. Kale (Aryabhushan Press, Poona), 1922.
5. *The Indian Point of View in Economics.* By D. A. Shah (Bombay Vaibhav Press, Bombay), 1920.
6. *The Economic Effects of War on India. Part I.* By Iqbal Bahadur Saksena. (Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow), 1920.
7. *Economic Consequences of the War for India* by S. G. Panandikar, M.A., Ph. D. (London) (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay). 1921.
8. *The Indian Currency & Exchange Problem.* By Jwala Prasad Singhal. (Vidyasagar Depot, Aligarh).
9. *Indian Legislative Economics or Town Versus Country.* By E. L. Price (The Daily Gazette Press, Ltd., Karachi), 1921.

An exhaustive work on the Indian—or rather British Indian—financial system was badly needed by the student of the subject and we are grateful to Professor K. T. Shah for removing that long-felt want by the publication of his compendious sketch called *Sixty Years of Indian Finance*. For a pioneer work it is accurate, systematic, comprehensive and fairly up-to-date ; though there is room for much improvement which we hope to find introduced in a second edition. But even as it is, the work would be found highly useful by students of Indian Economics. It gives a detailed Statement of the principal sources of Indian revenues, a historical Sketch of the growth of Indian public expenditure, an analysis of the expenditure incurred on national defence, maintenance of peace and order, and moral and material development ; as also the principles underlying the imposition of taxes on land and other sources of direct and indirect taxation.

tion. The discussion of questions relating to public works including railways is a prominent feature of the book ; while the public debt of India, war finance and—last but not least—the financial organization are also dealt with at considerable length. The subject of Indian currency and exchange is ably handled in the last section, and the book as a whole bears striking testimony alike to the industry, zeal and grasp of the subject by the author. Till it is replaced by a better book either by Professor Shah himself or another competent scholar, the work under notice will continue to be indispensable for purposes of study and reference on the subject it deals with.

Mr. Thomas Ainscough—"His Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India and Ceylon", as he officially describes himself—has just presented an official report called *General Review of the Conditions and Prospects of British Trade in India during the Fiscal Years 1919-20 to 1920-21*. The book is admittedly a compilation, based as it is not so much on first-hand knowledge as a study of the official reports issued by the Government of India. Nevertheless there is much in it that should appeal to students of Indian Economics. For one thing, it is systematic digest of the reports and blue-books issued during the period of two years covered by the survey. And though the two years under survey were admittedly exceptional for trade purposes, still the deductions drawn from a consideration of their trade will interest students of the subject. But apart from the author's deductions, the book is no less useful for its data consisting of much valuable material, not generally available to the average reader. For all these reasons, Mr. Ainscough's book should find a large circulation amongst educated Indians.

Professor C. J. Hamilton's book—*Trade Relations between England and India (1600-1896)*—is intended to fill a gap in existing economic literature due to the fact that there is no convenient and connected account of the rise and growth of the English as a Trading Community in India and of the gradual transmutation of that community into an enquiring and governing corporation. The present work provides an outline history of the trading activities of the East India Company from its foundation in 1600 to its close as a commercial undertaking in 1833. In as far as it serves this purpose the book has a value of its own and will be found useful. But it is a pity that the author descends from the position of the historian to that of a pamphleteer by trying to controvert, in a polemical spirit, the charge usually laid against the British Government of having killed some of

the Indian industries (especially weaving) for the purpose of encouraging their own manufactures. In the absence of more convincing arguments than he has adduced, his observations on this subject are not likely to find acceptance.

The Hon'ble Professor Kale has added yet one more useful treatise to the many excellent works on Indian Economics which he has published during the last few years. *The Dawn of Modern Finance in India*—as the latest work under consideration is designated—is an instructive, though brief, sketch of the Indian financial system from 1860 to date. In view of the large deficits of the Government of India and the consequent hardships entailed on the vast bulk of the people in this country by the imposition of additional taxation, it behoves every educated and thoughtful Indian to study carefully the problem of Indian finance ; and for this purpose we can not think of a better introductory book than Professor Kale's work under notice. It gives within the short compass of about 150 pages a complete conspectus of the financial history of Modern India, and, written as it is by one who is a master of the subject he deals with, it is thoroughly sound and stimulating.

Mr. D. A. Shah's essay called *The Indian Point of View in Economics*, —as its title indicates—is an attempt to emphasise the rise and development of the new spirit of studying Economics in this country from the Indian standpoint. It starts from the point where this new spirit came into play through the efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Romen Dutt and other pioneers in the study of Indian Economics. Tracing it from its origins, the writer applies the principles of Indian Economics to the many current problems of administration in this country and shows how—judged from the Indian standpoint—they come to assume a different shape. Mr. Shah's work is by no means comprehensive ; it is rather sketchy. But it is thought-provoking and stimulating to a degree and deserves the serious consideration of the students of the subject.

The first part (all that is issued so far, to our knowledge) of Professor Iqbal Bahadur Saksena's *Economic Effects of War in India*, deals with Indian industrial development during the years 1914 to 1918. Though admittedly largely based upon the *Industrial Handbook* issued by the late lamented Indian Munitions Board in 1919, it is none the less a useful compilation and contains enough original matter to claim for itself an individuality of its own. It offers within a short compass a fairly complete conspectus of the various Indian industries, many of which received a

great impetus during the continuance of the war, and the brochure is thus likely to be useful to those interested in the subject.

An allied book is Prof. Panandikar's monograph entitled *Economic Consequences of the War for India*—a thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy. Prof. Panandikar bases his conclusions on the rock-bottom fundaments of classical Economy and uses skilfully the incidents of war-finance in India to illustrate and develop the need of an economist's brain in the Simla Secretariat. Very useful summary of war conditions in India with their inevitable impact on her economic life is provided by the author in the form of analytical dissertations on its varied aspects. The treatment is admirably lucid though the survey is necessarily hurried and therefore incomplete because of the need of comprehending all the important phases under one cover. The section on Imperial Preference will be read with interest at the present time in view of the tour of the Fiscal commission. Prof. Panandikar's summing up in the form of a Profit and Loss Account the probable gains and losses to India directly due to war will furnish quite an instructive reading and very few men will disagree with his final vote in favour of a net loss. We commend the book to all students of public finance.

There are a number of more or less useful works on Indian currency, and we are not quite sure if a sketchy contribution to the subject was wanted. But to those who may not have access to other books, Mr. Jwala Prasad Singhal's *Indian Currency and Exchange Problem* may be of utility, as presenting in a small treatise the salient features of this very complicated subject. The author has carefully studied the literature of Indian currency and exchange and has digested his knowledge in a systematic way. The book may be commended as an introductory handbook of the subject it deals with.

Mr. E. L. Price's selections from the official reports of debates on economic subjects in the Indian legislatures during their first session at Delhi last year is a useful and interesting compilation. It is called *Indian Legislative Economics or Town Versus Country* and is enriched with an illuminating preface and elucidative notes. Great credit is due to the compiler for his judicious use of his material and elimination of all irrelevant matter. The pith of the debates on economic topics is to be found here in compact and handy form. It would be well if similar compendiums were compiled and issued of later debates.

## Our Library Table.

*Growth of The Soil* by Knut Hamsun (Glyndale, Scandinavian Publisher, London, 1921) is not what is generically known as a story ; it is not a romance but a veritable creation of wonderful art. *Growth of the Soil* forms one of the trilogy of literary conceptions that won for Knut Hamsun the Nobel Prize for Literature in the year 1920. It must be confessed that we opened the book—the first by this Norwegian author to reach our hands—with a sort of reverent prejudice, but we never stayed till the end to analyse the sense of self-satisfaction which follows a confirmation of pre-conceived opinion. Ingenuously refreshing in its plan, the execution is daring in its simplicity, and we believe that the charm of its appeal lies in the characteristically natural delineation of the lifestory of a man of the soil. If there is restrained passion in Hamsun's call of 'Back to Nature', there is no angry shout at the venialities of modern town life, no lacerating slash at the evils there abound. Isak—that 'barge of a man'—is the devoted protege of the soil who by the sheer depth of his faith creates life around him. Sivert is his true child, and Eleusis that was weak against the manifold temptations of 'civilisation' is allowed to disappear the way where others would go who heed not the call of the soil. Knut Hamsun confesses his faith in simple words : "A man of the wilds was not put out by the thought of great things he could not get ; art, newspapers, luxuries, politics and such like were worth just what folk were willing to pay for them, no more. *Growth of the soil* was something different, a thing to be procured at any cost ; the only source, the origin of all. A dull and desolate existence ? Nay, least of all. A man had everything ; his powers above, his dreams, his loves, his wealth of superstition." This forms the central theme of the artist, the philosophy of life of a man—a conception not unknown to Indian thinker. And yet Hamsun does not advocate a blank, unobservant return to Nature ; he does not shrink from 'progress'. For look at the restless figure of Giessler who would turn the hard-baked soil green in one day by the magic of his ideas of irrigation ; Giessler the cheery guest, always welcome, who sends mowing machine and a harrow as free presents, to the gratitude of another hardy son of the soil. No, despite the erring but finally repentant Inger who kills her child in order to save her the miseries of a hare-lip, or the wicked Barbro doubly seethed in crime Hamsun does not denounce the kindly blessings of modern progress. His is a passionate faith in simple living and in *Growth of the Soil*

he has achieved a triumph that does not depend upon false lights but proceeds from an innate belief in the sublimities of Nature.

*A Prince in Petrograd* by Edgar Jepson (Odham's Press, Ltd., London, 1921) is avowedly a story of Russian horrors under the Revolution. The writer is luridly anti-Bolshevik and depends for success upon the credulous faith of the multitude in the newspaper reports of the Red Terror. He depicts the 'practical intelligence' of the British race in a benevolent light as typified in the travels of a retired stockbroker who goes to Petrograd in search of a missing relative. His adventures form a crystallisation in story form of a *Morning Post* or *Le temps* series of Specials on Bolshevik tyranny. The relieving feature—or the inevitable love drama—is provided by his rescue of two young Russian girls who would talk of the ultimate problems of human existence amid great personal danger to life or would simultaneously fall in love with the hero. The author's treatment of the complicated love affair is refreshing, though we would have wished for a stronger emphasis on the truths of the Russian life.

*Maki* by R. J. Minney (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, 1921) is, we believe, the first attempt by a Britisher to depict a pure Indian Home. There is no mixing up with European 'chivalry' or the Western 'codes of honour' save a gratuitous reference to the Uncle's kow-towing to the jute-wallahs and another instance of the unabashed amusement of foreign visitors to a marriage feast. Mr. Minney is on the staff of the *Englishman* and has seen and heard for himself the tales of the night life of Calcutta veritably, if we are to believe him, "out of the mouths of men." He has attempted to look behind the heavy lattices drawn across the Indian Zenana and peep into the fluttering little hearts hid behind the curtain. We do not think he has succeeded, for the fantastic turnings and twists in the story—upon which essentially depends the successful drawing out of the tale—read as much alien to the Indian ear as to the foreigner's. Toton is the uncle conceivably alive today somewhere amidst the humming backyards of Burra Bazar; but Maki—the child with a woman's passion yet utterly helpless and jejune in her actions, with little or no will of her own save a spendthrift instinct—Maki, the ineffective and colourless angel with wings pruned off to stay flight, is an unknown if not an altogether bizarre character. The contradictions in Maki's episodic life seem so unnatural as to enliven our suspicions even where approach is made to be more true to life. Maki is possessed, for instance, with a passionate love for Heera, the flute player,—a love that defies the prison bars and looks down contemp-

tuously upon the heights of the Raja's palace. Such love would prove an eternal safeguard against desecration even amid the darkest despair. Yet Maki, the lover, does not even twitter when she plays the courtesan to varied people in return for bare shelter ; and throughout such 'escapades' we are asked to retain our belief in the strength of Maki's Love, for does it not end ultimately in her final renunciation of Beauty ? No, we did not believe that the India of the Anglo-Indians possessed such an invertebrate characteristic ; and Mr. Minney has shown by his prejudiced credulity that he has not triumphed over the mysteries of the Indian household. His boldness of attempt has landed him into the unenviable posture which is at best a shallow phantasy and at its lowest a ridiculous caricature.

To the series "Plays for a People's Theatre" Messrs. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., (Graham House, London) have recently added *O-kai* and *Yeraz*. These plays are avowedly futuristic—not merely in the sense that they design to merit the attention of those whose eyes are turned towards the future, but in their treatment and drapery the plan is essentially in advance of the times. The legitimate crafts of the dramatist jostle shoulder to shoulder with phantasy and caricature, or betimes with didacticism and allegory. Rhyme and blank verse of austere dignity mingle at surprising corners with raillery and retort. But the result is not at all an incongruity. A healthy venue is provided for the expression of creative but *eccentric* strain in human mind and the Publishers in a characteristic fashion have adopted a non-classical method of presentment, and deserve the gratitude of a large number of people who believe in the future.

*O-Kai* by Edw. C. Reed is sub-named a "Phantasy of Now and Then", but the conception is no more fanciful than an ideal. O-Kai, the son of the storm-God has come down on earth to bless a childless couple of poor toilers, and as if by magic the poor Bimbo of the fields is transformed into the pompous, self-satisfied profiteer of wealth and plenitude. He develops the inevitable consciousness of power and omits to see with O-Kai, his benefactor, that "Down there the people toil on and on for ever. Roof is added on to roof, and chimney to chimney. The face of the sun is blotted out, so that they live always in perpetual gloom. Their eyes are closed with disc of gold. They have the darkness of death, but know not its repose, for in their heart is no peace, nor any joy in their habitation". A neat diversion on the topical politics of the day is provided in the gathering of the birds and beasts convoked by the Famis—the statesmen of the Forest; with "a man's body, but their head is like a hawk's and they have

claws on their feet. They are hatched from eggs, you know, really, and are born with feathers and wings. But afterwards they moult and their bodies become like men's."

*Yeraz* by M. A. Arabian is a tale within a tale with a purpose. The tale within is of the land of Yeraz—the happy ideal land of content and community where every man works for the rest and finds pleasure therein, the utopia of beautiful dreams and cultured aspirations. The tale of the land of Yeraz reads like *News from Nowhere*—the great republic of socialist ideals replete with all the good things of this mother, earth. The tale without tells of the ego-centric power, of the disease of possessiveness, of clash and conflict. It is the tale of Goldgothiland where Mammon reigns supreme, where social scale and social need is measured by the height of one's golden eggs, where heart, happiness and goodwill fall at the command of greed, envy and pride. Yeraz and our Goldgothiland—two contrasts that unfold the deficiencies even of human ideals as we conceive of them today. The author has neatly utilised the scheme to unfold the sublime reaches of the human heart, and has presented a delightful reading in *Ideals*.

The Oxford University Press have issued in their "Clarendon series of English Literature", two excellent volumes of selections from Burke and Cowper, enriched with extracts from classical essayists like Hazlitt, Mathew Arnold and Walter Bagehot. The passages are very judiciously chosen and the volumes form most suitable introductions to the great writers to whose collected works they are intended to be preliminary studies.

Mr. George Loane's *Longer Narrative Poems of the Eighteenth Century* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd, St. Martin's Street, London) will introduce the reader to some of the best-known poetry of Dryden, Pope, Cowper, Burns and Coleridge. There is an excellent Introduction and the notes are truly helpful.

The Cambridge University Press have just concluded their series of "English Romantic Poets" by the publication of the third and last volume—*Selections from Sir Walter Scott*. Mr. Hamilton Thompson is the editor of the series and his illuminative introductions and elucidative notes are striking features of the selections from the romantic poets. The same publishers have issued excellent *Selections from Plutarch's Lives* edited with notes by Dr. P. Giles.

Mr. B. G. Sapre's *Reformed Constitution of British India* is yet one more successful effort to expound the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and it gives a sound and faithful outline of the new scheme. Its chief merit

## RECENT GUJARATI LITERATURE

lies in its lucidity and comprehensiveness. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad contributes a suggestive foreword, which enhances the value of Mr. Sapre's excellent work (K. Narandas & Co. Surat.)

Messrs G. Anderson and M. Subedar have added a second volume to their excellent compendium of extracts from original sources called *The Development of an Indian Policy* (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd, London) by putting together in the second volume selections from literature ranging from 1818 to 1858. When the third volume to be called *The Economic Policy of the Company* is issued, the series will become a valuable repertory both for purposes of study and reference.

Professor Fulton has done well to have brought together in a small handy volume called *Bryce on American Democracy* (The Macmillan Company, New York, U. S. A.) an excellent series of selections from Lord Bryce's classical treatise—*The American Commonwealth*—and his thoughtful lectures on "Hindrances to good Citizenship". The little volume deserves wide circulation.

### Recent Gujarati Literature.

*Swami Vivekanand Part VIII* : Published by Sasta Sahitya Vardhak Karyalaya : Kalbadevi Road, Bombay.

This is the eighth volume of the complete works of the world-renowned Swami Vivekanand translated and published in a Series by the cheap literature Publishing House of Gujerat. The selfless Sanyasi at the helm of this enterprising house Bhikhsu Akhandananda has rendered yeomen's services to Gujarat by his choicest Selections from the world literature and publishing the same in cheap volumes within an easy reach of all and sundry. He has created quite a little Library of his publications for a Gujarati home. The volume under notice has been translated by Ratan-singh Dipsingh Parmar in a lucid, flowing Gujarati and makes it readable. It is priced as usual very moderately.

*Swami Vivekananda IX* : This is another publication and rather more important than the other from the same publishers. It is the biography of the great Swami written and compiled from various works on the subject by Mr. Ramprasad K. Desai, an ardent admirer and disciple of Vivekananda. Gujarat knew much about Vivekanand but there was no biography in Gujarati of the great Sanyasi in its present form. The Author is a great student of the writings of Vivekananda and as such he is the most fitted

man to speak on the subject. If we remember aright, the writer had written a biography of Vivekananda in English some years back and it is unfortunately out of print now. Gujarat feels gratified to both the writer and the publisher for making her acquainted with the life-work of the great religious teacher of the last century !

*Gazals Ranjur* : Mr. Ranjur's gazals are most popular in the Gujarati literature and one finds the poet in almost every issue of a prominent Gujarati periodical. The writer Mr. Bhanunanda Hansoli a young man of great fervour generally writing under the pseudonym of Ranjur seems to have specialized this particular branch of poetry and is well versed in it. He is always at his best when he has to write a Gazal. He has done well in bringing out an illustrated edition of his collections of Gazals written from time to time and on varied occasions. We recommend its perusal to every lover of literature.

*Garvi Gujarat* : Gujarat deplored the loss of that premier monthly Vismi Sadi, which by its untimely death had created a big gap in the periodical literature of Gujarat. It is a good luck that the gap is very soon filled up by the publication of Garvi Gujarat which has justified its existence in a short duration of six months only by its various features of note. It promises to be in all respects another Vismi Sadi. The Diwali Art Number recently out presents a mass of readable matter—some of the choicest articles on various topics of interest from tried pens and is proposed to be illustrated. We wish the enterprise a success and a long useful career.

*Kalapino Kekarav* : Jiwansingh Amarsi Mehta of Ahmedabad.

This is the second illustrated edition of a most popular Gujarati work on Poetry. The poet prince of Lathi has been a great favourite with a section of the Gujarati reading public and Mr. Jiwansingh has done well in bringing out the second edition of the collections of poems written by Thakoresaheb of Lathi better known as "Kalapi". The book is profusely illustrated and the get up is excellent this time. We recommend the book to our readers.

R. M. K.

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BY  
Sachchidananda Sinha.

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## THE MAGNET.

### I

I lived in an old deserted house the walls of which often shed tears (likely because of their age) and the ceiling continually bowed to the floor momentarily ready to fall and embrace it. The mice in this house were greater masters than I and while I slept spiders spun webs about my head.

I fed my body with the rancid food my neighbours discarded. I drank adulterated wine which made my intestines weep and my flesh change its colour.

I clothed myself in tattered garments,—garments in which lice had made their kingdom. My body was pining away under these rags of torture until my bones pierced the flesh and skin and I became a human cactus plant.

But one day I left this house, touched neither food nor drink and threw away the strips of cloth that still clung to me.

### II

I went forth to seek.....

I stopped before a garden lit with millions of multicoloured lanterns. An orchestra was strewing chips of harmonies to the wind and stars. Flowers were raining from heaven. One fell upon my head. She who had been standing in the centre of all this ; she upon whom the eyes of all the people were fastened ; she of whose beauty many tongues had spoken, she rushed up to me

and taking me by the hand led me into a palace. She washed, clothed and fed me. I was her chosen one, she said. The flower that had fallen upon my head decided that I could not speak. This sudden happiness, like sudden horror overwhelmed me .....But when I kissed her lips and tasted her body I found in her the house in which I had lived ; the food I had eaten ; the garments I had worn.

I wished to run from her as I had run from my past life. Once, twice I did leave her only to be dragged back, time and time and again, to live in her my past, over and over and again.....

Em Jo.

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND THE ETHICAL BASIS OF KINDERGARTEN SYSTEM.

A child is a valuable commodity. "The child is the father of the man". The child contains in germ all that it will be in manhood. The well-being of nations depends upon what man is and the well-being of man depends upon what the child is. The child may become a man or woman capable of any amount of goodness and service to motherland. It is not possible for us to tell what possibilities lie in a child. General Garfield, the President of the United States of America never passed a ragged boy in the street without feeling that one day he might owe him a salute. Swinburne has said,

"Take care of this small child of earth;  
He is great, he hath in him God most high".

When Trebonius, the schoolmaster of Luther, came into his school room, he used to take off his hat and say "I uncover to the future senators, counsellors, wise teachers, and other great men that may come forth from this school".

If the child be thus valuable, surely the work of the person who trains him up is equally valuable. The training of children is the greatest business in this world. The child is a bundle of undeveloped powers and unrealised possibilities. Training a child is not like handling and shaping of precious stones, which are worthless and dead things having no will. The training of the child is therefore the most difficult and important work ever assigned to mankind.

Though it is difficult, it is not impossible. The twig will grow as it is bent. It is almost impossible to improve the characters of adults but almost anything may be made of a child. So those who teach children, whose labours influence posterity and on whose exertions depends the welfare of the country, must be given the first place in the 'Valhalla' of public estimation and regard. The teachers of a country, one may say, have its future in their hands. Teaching is the noblest and the holiest of all professions, though sorriest of trades.

Unfortunately, education, at present, is a system that turns out goods by order, irrespective of the natural proclivities and talents of youth. He is seized upon by the workmen of the materio-intellectual factory and crammed with exact heights of mountains, the depths of various oceans, dates of history and lists of kings. It is the disgust for the so-called lesson which the child rightly exhibits in the class, which is often times identified with the breach of discipline and the poor child is, alas, subjected to punishments varying with the eccentricities of the presiding deities. Interesting things, which the child would be very eager to hear, see or do, are consistently ignored. As a result of this the natural genius in the child is rapidly squeezed out of him by the rollers of what Carlyle has called "dead vocables". George Eliot says "For getting a fine flourishing growth of stupidity, there is nothing like pouring out on a mind, a good amount of subjects in which it feels no interest".

The meaning of Education is not to fit children in a mental mould. Education, as Prof. James says, consists in the organising of the resources in the human being, of powers of conduct which shall fit him to his social and physical world. Education should help the child to express itself and to draw out all its latent powers of mind and heart and will. The aim of education should be to turn out a citizen who will be of great help to the progress of the state. Education, in short, should try to foster independence of judgment, a love of truth for its own sake, a sense of proportion and the ability to distinguish between what is true and what is not true. The teacher must attend to the *mind* of the child. He must put emphasis on the development of the judging and reasoning powers and allow the facts of the subject to look after themselves. They *will* look after themselves, if the facts are worth knowing, if only the mind is trained to grasp facts and understand them. Correct education is not arrived at and never can be arrived at by young people being crammed at school with readymade knowledge and left to find out after adult life and its duties have come upon them, that they are still very ignorant of how to learn of what they now need to know. Therefore any theory of Education cannot be separated without serious consequences from theory of life and any system of education

which does not prepare the child for the subsequent battle of life is doomed to failure and dissatisfaction.

Old educative reformers—including the great German reformer Herbart—were guilty of identifying the mind with intellect and hence their education was based upon an appeal to the intellect to the exclusion of the volitional and emotional aspects. It is a great mistake to suppose that we can secure efficient training of the mind as a whole when we attend to the intellectual aspect alone leaving the other sides of the human nature untouched. It is to be regretted that the physical aspect had been till lately overlooked. Recently—thanks to the Boy Scout movement and the Ambulance training—a little consideration is shown to the physical aspect also. Education then must include moral, religious as well as physical and intellectual phases. The aim of education is the perfection and completion of individual life and to make the individual an effective member of an organised community, prepare him for active life. The pity is that educational reformers forget these inner activities and stuff their pupils with the knowledge appropriate to the needs of a useful life and unprepared for obligations of morality. As a result of such education, we very often find intellectual geniuses are moral pygmies.

Fortunately the Kindergarten movement with its religious ideas and scientific principles of education came as a protest against such educational ideals. All educational theories that were universally admired, succumbed before this Kindergarten scheme. The Kindergarten movement was based on religious teachings. It proclaimed the “rights” of the child. Its philosophy was as follows—

“Nature is visible spirit, the spirit invisible nature; that matter is only an appearance of which the reality is spirit and therefore cognate with the individual soul; that all nature lives and manifests its life in an infinite productivity, that all creation is one with itself and with its creator, in that all is spiritual; that the individual spirit craves to find satisfaction in the apprehension of this essential unity”.

“The West”, says Rabindranath, “may believe in the soul of man

but she does not really believe that the universe has a soul. Yet this is the belief in the East. The world is quite another thing than the mechanical object which common sense and science have seen in it.

The night is like a dark child just born of her mother day  
 Millions of stars crowding round its cradle watch it  
 Standing still afraid lest it should wake up.

I am ready to go on in this train but I am interrupted by science laughing at me. She takes objections to my statements that the stars are standing still" Tagore continues, "The prosody of the stars can be explained in the class room but the poetry of the stars is the silent meeting of soul with soul at the confluence of the light and the dark when the infinite prints its kiss on the forehead of the finite, when we can hear the music of the great I AM pealing from the grand organ of creation through its countless needs in endless harmony".

Kindergarten system for the first time defined education as an evolving or drawing out of the powers of man. It places emphasis on self-education and bodily activity. This soul of Kindergarten movement entered the body of the old educational ideals. Unfortunately Kindergarten movement of such a description has not yet visited India. India is still following the old eighteenth century educational ideals, with their misleading notions of education, exalted values of instruction and defective conceptions of discipline. Without Kindergarten Indian Elementary education is bound to be a failure. It is the saviour of the much abused and tortured child. In it lies the chances of the future educational progress of India.

Till now I dealt with the value of a child and the relative value of the teaching which should train the child to become a real citizen. I afterwards expressed what education, in the real sense, means; how the educational ideals were found wanting; and how the Kindergarten movement came as a protest against the defective ideals of education. The purpose of the article is to show the psychological and ethical basis of this Kindergarten system. First I will take up the psychological aspect and then go to the ethical training given in the Kindergarten scheme.

While endeavouring to ascertain the psychological basis of the Kindergarten movement, we must have an idea of the characteristics of early childhood, which are either developed or checked by the system, as the characteristics are good or bad respectively.

(1) We have seen the interest taken by our children at home in *doing* things and *playing* with them. All of us have often seen the child constructing balances with the two halves of a lime fruit and a broomstick, the two halves of the lime fruit serving the purpose of scale pans, the broomstick to be the beam of the balance. How has he cultivated this kind of knowledge. The child has probably *observed* a shop man weighing things therewith. The impression has formed in him so deeply that he wants to express himself in some way or other. The child has cultivated such a kind of *observation* and *imagination* that he begins to express his inner ideas in a manner corresponding to the impression created in his mind. The "make-believe" games are the results of children's spontaneous activity and of their imitative and imaginative powers. These show that children have gained such an intelligence through minute observation of their surroundings and have formed a clear notion of the same, that they give vent to that impression in these ways. Spontaneous activity is a common feature with all young ones. Bani defines spontaneity as "the fact that the active organs may pass into movement apart from the stimulus of sensation." "The superabundance of nervous energy must be 'fired off' somehow, always to the delight of the child, and often to the discomfort of his elders".

Equally noticeable as the above is the child's delight in examining things and handling them. It is well known to us that, when an object is presented to a child, it puts out its hand to try to grasp it. If the object is not given it begins to cry. This clearly shows that the child exhibits a desire to touch the object and examine it. The fact that children have a peculiar fancy to coloured objects is not unknown to us. The child prefers a gaudily-coloured picture book to the paintings of an expert painter. It is because of this, coloured small dolls are suspended over children's cradles. In addition to these above-mentioned,

there could as well be seen in early childhood rudiments of sympathy, which make a child smile when its mother smiles and look sorry when its mother or nurse appears so and also weakness, judgment and reasoning and absence of moral impulses.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have attempted to give in brief, the chief characteristics that are commonly observed in every child and it is my present endeavour to sketch how far the Kindergarten system tends to develop the good features and to check the bad features in the child. It would be highly pleasing to see how this system, the saviour of the child, tends to draw the inherent latent powers in a child, thus giving him a real education.

Kindergarten system starts with the recognition of the spontaneous activity in a child. Frobel, the founder of the system, well recognised that the first start in knowledge is made through spontaneous and overflowing activity. One of the great achievements of the modern age is the recognition of the principle that education cannot consist in mere listening and taking down and that child education must take the form of spontaneous play leading in the direction of handiwork. The psychological value in play as expressed in the form of hand-work cannot be overestimated. Miss Gillingham says "Little children love doing things with their fingers, they like to feel and touch everything they see and there is a strong creative instinct in them. We have often seen how a child gets delighted when he has made something new by his own efforts. One of the most noticeable features of the Kindergarten system is the systematic manner in which it aims at developing the higher forms of knowledge from the playful activity of the child. The brickbuilding, claymodelling, singing, acting, etc., are all different methods for diverting the child's activity into educational channels. The Kindergarten studies the child, feels its likes and dislikes, notices its feelings and impulses and adjusts the teaching to suit its features. Such an education, which satisfies the natural tastes of the child, will be received with great satisfaction and delight".

The next important thing noticed by the Kindergarten system is the fact that the child is incapable of long-continued

application and the fact that the child cannot apprehend or retain any abstract idea. Unfortunately the method of teaching in vogue is disburdening on young shoulders a mass of erudition. We all know how a child even resents sitting in a particular place for a long time and also how it gets disgusted with a long dose of teaching. The Kindergarten system adapts itself well to this feature. Its lessons are short and each short lesson too is divided into parts calling the exercise of different capacities. It makes an ideal take a definite shape in the mind of the child. A child first apprehends things and then as parts of the world around him. The things are concrete and his apprehension empirical. He does not understand their nature, place and function in the world. The Kindergarten gives children concrete lessons. The child cuts the hero out of paper or moulds him out of clay.

The Kindergarten clearly recognises the tendency among children to examine and especially to handle things. Frobel's 'gifts' are not intended to be merely shown to the child but they are intended to be touched and handled by children. More than this; they are intended to be given away to them after the series of lessons dealing with them had been completed. The fact that the Kindergarten commences with coloured balls in the first 'gift' shows clearly to what extent it respects the attractiveness of colour for young children.

Thus far I have tried to lay before the readers, in as brief a manner as possible, the essential psychological principles of the Kindergarten system, showing at the same time its high educative value and how it is a remedy to the defects in the system of education. The modern child in the Kindergarten has the deep-rooted love for making, inventing and knowing all about things. It remains for me to touch the ethical aspect of the Kindergarten system and show how it tends to train the moral sense in a child.

For a right understanding of the way in which the Kindergarten system trains the moral sense of children, it is necessary for us to have a clear conception of a moral act. A moral act is not an act of impulse; but it is an act with a purpose and self-control. Prof. James says a moral act is an act in the line of

great resistance. A moral act is an act done guided by a purpose, and in which the impulse of the moment is subdued by a nobler idea. Moral philosophers have defined a moral act as "consciously purposive activity". This involves two features (1) purpose (2) self-control. All purposes involve a sacrifice, which is very often an outcome of sympathy. We find boys often kill insects and thus satisfy themselves. This cruelty is due to lack of sympathy which is due to lack of imagination. So to develop a moral sense among children, the cultivation of imagination, a spirit of sacrifice, a power of doing with a purpose, a feeling of sympathy are quite essential. It is only when these factors are inculcated in a boy, we can say that moral sense has been put in his mind. In order to weigh the moral value of the Kindergarten system, it is but necessary to examine the extent to which the subjects of the curriculum of the Kindergarten school promote and develop these faculties and thus make him a moral agent.

I have already said that play is the most important feature in the enrichment of child's knowledge. The play expressions of a child are in Frobel's language "the germinal leaves of all later life". Hence the value of play in the education of man. The ethical value of organised games cannot be overestimated. They first create in him a social feeling, a love and sympathy towards his fellow-players. Playground is the ideal field where the moral tone could be well cultivated. The boy learns to subserve his individuality and finds his own is not the only will to prevail. He learns to subordinate his own individual tastes and pleasures to those of the whole team. He realises his pleasure in the pleasure of all. Secondly, every game has got an ideal and boys try to gain the ideal. This is a healthy move as it would train him to have ideals beforehand to be gained in all his undertakings. Moreover this is a field of actual doings and not mere talk. Here a talk of courage, self-control, etc., is not needed, but the boy must *show* his courage and self-control by his actions. The playground plays no unimportant part in the work of character formation. It cultivates the social virtues of sympathy and courtesy, promotes good temper, develops a spirit of give and take and trains the mind to put up with difficulties

with due modesty and cheerfulness. Thus games are a factor to elevate the moral tone of the Kindergarten system.

Of all the subjects in the Kindergarten scheme, the story affords the greatest scope for the development of the moral sense of a child. The instruction conveyed in the form of stories silently work its way into the moral composition of the growing mind and in course of time becomes an organic part of it. The child learns from a narration of stories concrete instances of where kindness is rewarded and vice punished. The child begins to grasp the ideals of justice, truth, etc., much better than when the same are given in doses of abstract notions. Thus the moral sense could be well developed by a narration of good stories. Even descriptions of flowers inculcate moral ideas in the mind of a child. Let us take, for instance, the lesson on the rose-flower. The teacher describes its loveliness, rich fragrance, its charm and glory of colour and form. He then dwells upon the manufacture of rose-water and on the still richer perfume "attar of roses". Now we are apt to pass over that lesson in a hurry. The rose has also to teach us moral lessons and principles of a very high order. There is that old and time-honoured saying, "there is no rose but has a thorn". The rose also teaches us that health and beauty are only for those who lead a simple life. Furthermore we can draw the moral that common things become better and superior by association with what is good. Thus almost every lesson we teach may be turned to a short discourse, in which moral principles could be discussed. Thus stories form one of the best means by which the plastic character of young children could be shaped and moulded.

There are other subjects of the Kindergarten curriculum which develop the moral tone of the child, a narration of which might make this article very big. I have given above the most important subjects which go to develop the moral side of the child.

Thus far I have tried to lay before the readers some of the essential psychological and ethical principles of the Kindergarten system. In conclusion, we may say that true education is concerned with the whole or com-

plete being, not body alone or soul alone, still less, with some one aspect of spiritual life as intellect or utilitarian or morality of conduct alone. "The work at any given stage of a child's development shall be that which is adopted to the immediate enrichment of his as measured by his individual needs and capacities—the psychological factor". The curriculum of work to be given to children should take into consideration the two factors given above. The Kindergarten system fully satisfies the two conditions laid above. It remedies certain defects in our system of education by laying foundations for a true liberal education. No importance is at present attached to infant education and even the little that is done is done in a mechanical way. The Kindergarten system which has achieved a remarkable success in the west is sure to play a vital part in India in developing all sides of child nature. The Kindergarten is saviour of our much abused children. Without Kindergarten, Indian elementary education system is bound to be a failure; with it, it should be a success. In the introduction of the Kindergarten of Frobel's type in our literary schools lies the chance of future educational progress of our motherland. It is hoped that all educationists would give the suggestion the consideration it deserves.

S. THIRUMALAI.

## INDIAN FISCAL COMMISSION AND THE PROBLEM BEFORE IT.

Evolution is the law of nature, and nothing under the sun is still and stable. Every atom of the universe is displaying activity in some form or other shaping the whole to its destined goal. And since life is a continual adjustment of the organism to its environment, not a leaf or a worm can be left in permanent stagnation. Be it as it may, there is an eternal change for better or for worse. Nowhere has this been more clearly perceived than in the constitutional development in India under the British rule and with it in the "fiscal policy" of India. The Government of India Act of 1919 involves a 'great and memorable departure', from the old form of government—"the old order yielding place to new". A new chapter has been opened not only in political, but also in fiscal and economic matters.

Everywhere a new spirit permeates the Indian atmosphere—whether it be political, economic, industrial or fiscal. Thus the words, 'non-co-operation', Bureaucracy' 'Imperial Preference' 'Free Trade', 'Protection', 'Industrial Regeneration', are but certain phases of the modern spirit rampant in India. But in this short essay, it is not my purpose to scan the nature of political events or even economic events in the country, but to examine the 'fiscal policy' of Indian Government. In this, I shall try to trace the public ideas,—ideas that manifest themselves in multitude of ways.

It is needless to say, that these days industrial public is very alive to the question of fiscal policy, because upon the future fiscal policy, depends the industrial development of India. It has been truly remarked by the Sir M. Viseswarya, that, "the fiscal reconstruction should be the corner-stone of the economic and social edifice of the future". Evidently, with the same object in view, the Indian Government under the old regime, by a resolution dated the 29th February, 1920, appointed a committee, 'to examine the trade statistics and—to report to the Governor-General in Council, whether or not it is not advisable to

apply a system of preference in favour of goods of empire origin and as to the best methods of considering the future fiscal policy of India." The committee so appointed reported : "We think, this can only be effectively enquired into by means of a commission with power to take evidence in various parts of the country from all the interests concerned, from importers and exporters, producers and manufacturers and from persons entitled to speak on behalf of the consumers".

It was then left to the Reformed Indian Government to act according to above recommendations. And with the approval of His Majesty's Secretary of State, they appointed last winter a Fiscal commission, with the following terms of reference :—"to examine with all interests concerned, with the tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference and to make recommendations". A word about the personnel of the commission will not be out of place. This commission is composed of twelve members (including the President and Vice-President). It is gratifying to the public to see such an eminent Indian (Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla) presiding over this important commission. The majority of the members (namely 7) are Indians, while the rest are Europeans and officials. The commission is packed up with all sorts of persons from theorists downwards to practical business men. Since the appointment of this commission which commenced its sittings in mid-November, the question of free trade *versus* Protection and Imperial Preference have again come to the forefront in this country. With such a commission, it is more than likely that India will obtain her viewpoint, what now remains is for the leaders of public opinion in the country at all centres to put forward in unmistakable terms the wishes and sentiments of the public in the economic and industrial interest of the country. The general position in India in fiscal policy up till very recently was the outcome of the prevailing sentiments of the English Statesmen and Politicians of the day. It was therefore mainly dictated by Whitehall. Indian Government was helpless in the matter. But the scales have been changed now and the Simla or Delhi and not the Whitehall will determine the best

fiscal policy in the interests of the country, as is clear from the following reply of the Secretary of State for India to the Lancashire Deputation that waited upon him in March, 1921. The Right Honorable Mr. Montagu's reply is summed up in, "that is why, I regret that my short answer to this deputation must be that so far as I am concerned, I see no other course, but to let things stand as they are and to let India enjoy fiscal liberty that was promised in 1919". He further added, "that it will be a most profound mistake of Imperial Statesmanship, to my mind, to force your own statutory powers to force Imperial Preference upon India". Thus, from the above it is clear that, India has been conceded fiscal autonomy by convention though not by statute. With fiscal autonomy in India Government's hands and the fiscal commission mainly composed of Indians, India is likely to achieve her desires of obtaining a fiscal policy most beneficial under the existing circumstances. The task before the commission is a stupendous and onerous one. It has to recommend, whether the continuance of Free Trade or the adoption of Imperial Preference or Protection will rejuvenate Industrial India. This is the problem before it.

A retrospect of India's industrial position in the past, its present position and a brief examination of the changes already brought about or likely to be brought about under Free Trade, Imperial Preference and protection is therefore necessary. India presents a strang spectacle of a country formerly rich, prosperous and in a manner highly civilised, of which the native industries once the wonder of the west are now decadent, being ousted out under the stress of unrestricted foreign competition and dumping.

Indian cottage industries—textile, cutlery, glass, pottery, silks, etc. are either dead or dying, but recently they are again reviving. The splendid native iron and other articles are now being superseded by cheap and worthless metals and articles of foreign manufactures. "Everywhere may be found the evidences of flourishing industries in the past in the huge 40 ton brass gun of Bijapur, in the great iron column of Kutub, in the magnificent inlaid marble, in the fretwork and carving of the tombs, palaces and mosques; it may also be seen in the

glass, pottery, shawls, carpets and silks in the treasuries and museums of many Rajahs and also in the ruin of indigo factories". But now, India is on the whole a poor country. India once the land of Pagoda tree! India, once the mine of wealth! India, once the wonder and admiration of Marco Polo and travellers in former times! The same India now in throes of Poverty—"Midas starving amid heaps of gold does not afford a greater paradox, yet here we have, India starving Midas-like in the midst of untold wealth". For India has untold wealth, wonderful natural resources, agricultural, mineral and industrial, but they all lie undeveloped. India has excellent coal, covering an area of about 100,000 sq. miles and it is estimated that these beds may contain hundreds of million tons of pure and finest coal. India is the only country in the world which produces food-grains of all kinds, oilseeds, wheat, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, lac, dyes, cotton, jute, hemp, flax, fibres of every descriptions, in fact products too numerous to mention. Then there are millions of potential horse-power available in the form of water flowing from the mountain ranges capable of being converted into electrical energy at places near the hills and conveyed with slight loss of power to centres even at great distances, where it can be utilised for industrial purposes. The labour is thrifty, industrious, capable of great physical exertion, docile, easily taught, skilful in any work requiring, 'delicate manipulation'. Even then such labour is absurdly cheap. Then there is a great hoarded wealth. In 1905, it was estimated at £550,000,000. Figures of the capital invested in Industries in the following six countries of the world will show the relative position of India amongst the industrial countries of the world. These figures give a quite different tale.

		£
United Kingdom	...	2,737,000,000 in 1914-15
Canada	...	390,000,000
United States of America		4,558,000,000
Japan	...	243,000,000
India—		
Purely Indian	...	£60,000,000
Foreign	...	£411,000,000
		471,000,000
		,,

This clearly shows that India is industrially very backward inspite of all the above advantages. There is labour, there is capital, there is land, all the components are present in abundance. But how is it, that the affinity of combining as shown by these elements, in other climes, has not been exhibited here. Security of life and property have been enjoyed by the people. Pre-British days of internecine wars, invasions and massacres are gone, but the industrial India does not seem to have realised this fully. Japan, Canada and other countries which were on parity with India in industrial development in 1860, have now become the serious rival of Great Britain. But what comes in the way of India? For this we have not to go far, but it is as clear as day light, that the industrial development of India has been sacrificed to the fetish of Free Trade.

Some industries such as cotton, jute and others showed as early as 1870 signs of development under judicious system of protection. But instead of any protection they actually received a set-back in 1882 by the imposition of excise duty. Some people say, that British capital has done much to increase the manufactures of jute and cotton, but this has been an uphill task. Nowhere else in the world would any obvious attempt to handicap the industries be tolerated. India, once the home of flourishing industries, has now to depend for her clothes and other necessary articles upon foreign countries. When the doors were opened free in or about 1859, there were many infant industries, which were swamped at a bound by the flow of worthless and cheap foreign commodities. Thus Germany is responsible for the destruction of many industries. She ousted Indian sugar from the home market by dumping and other devices. Free trade is only good, if all apply it and all the parts are equally developed. Cobden's dreams of universal peace have not been realised and we are as far from the millennium as ever. A patient trial extending over fifty years has clearly proved the complete failure of free trade policy in every respect. Everywhere I find the utter failure of the promises and predictions by which the people of Great Britain were induced to adopt our present 'fiscal policy'. The limitations of A. Smith have been quite disregarded by his wrong-headed followers. The

Cobdenites have not taken into consideration the changes in industrial circumstances which have taken place since the industrial revolution. The problem therefore before the commission is to develop the magnificent potentialities of this 'brightest jewel' of the British Crown and make it once more as of yore, the land of teeming wealth and happiness.

What then will be the best policy under existing circumstances. During the last twenty-five years there has been much talk about Imperial Preference. There are politicians, both here and in England who are ready to worship in the shrine of this deity, without examining the statistics of exports and imports carefully. What they say, is that Preferential trade is one of the best and the few means of drawing closer the bonds of unity and increasing the solidarity of the Empire. But to my mind a proposal for the federation of the Empire by the 'establishment of Free Trade within the Empire', is not only an economic error, but most unfeasible. The British Empire, as it is, is composed of parts which are varied not only in climate, people and other things, but the parts are not developed equally, economically, politically and industrially. Under these circumstances I cannot conceive, preferential tariff as "one of the links between India and other parts of the Empire". What is needed is a policy, which must not be a narrow and insular one, which takes away everything, it can from dependencies and gives nothing in return, it must not be a selfish policy, but, "a generous, enlightened policy, which considers the welfare of each and every portion of the Empire identical—a policy that will foster every industry when it needs fostering and will protect only to the extent that is needed to prevent the decay of an industry or to develop a new one". As stated above, Imperial Preference will not be beneficial to India under the present undeveloped circumstances, for under such a scheme India is likely to remain producer of raw materials and importer of manufactured goods. One should not be fascinated only with abstract arguments, but should study the concrete facts and figure, before he forms any opinion. But as the space at my disposal is a limited one, I am compelled to refrain from discussing the problem of Imperial Preference in full details. I may however say in passing that by adopting Imperial Prefer-

ence, India will have to allow 70% of imported goods to enter her coast free of cost, while in return only 32% of her goods will be admitted free of duty. For the figures of exports and imports stand thus.

Imports—		Exports—	
Empire origin	... 70 p.c.	To British Empire	32 p.c.
Foreign	... 30 „	To Foreign countries	68 „
	—		—
	100		100

I now pass on to the policy, which is needed at the present juncture. It must be policy of *protection and not of prohibition*, the aim of which should not be to exclude foreign or Empire-made products, but to place India in a better or at least in an equal position to compete with the foreigners and the other component parts of the Empire. So far, I have tried to show that neither the continuance of free trade nor the adoption of Imperial Preference will bring any advantage to the country. Now, I shall proceed to examine what kind of protection is needed and how far will it revolutionise the industries of the country. In this brief essay, I do not propose to venture into the deep-waters of Free Trade and Protection, but this essay will be incomplete without an examination of some of the common and fallacious arguments against Protection. Mostly, the arguments against Protection are based on two cardinal errors. They are :—

- (1) The burden of an import duty must fall upon the consumer and consequently there are high prices.
- (2) India, being purely an agricultural country, the farmers will suffer (a) because of the diversion of labour and capital from agriculture; (b) that foreign markets will be closed for Indian producers of raw materials and the farmers will not get good prices for their products.

As regards (1), in majority of cases the experience shows that the import duty if moderate and competitive in character does not fall upon home consumer, but on the other hand is paid by the foreign producer or his

agent. It is also far from truth that import duty raises the price of articles taxed. Though, this may appear paradoxical, but the following amongst other reasons clear up the whole matter.

- (a) Before the import duty comes into operation there is a rush on the part of foreign producer or his agent to send in as much as possible so as to escape import duty and this tends to depress the prices.
- (b) The home manufactures being protected from wholesale dumping of surplus goods are in a position to carry on industry on a more satisfactory basis.
- (c) The foreign producer must sell his *surplus produce* and the import duty will naturally fall upon him.
- (d) The revenue derived from import duty saves direct taxation and the home producer is therefore enabled to produce at lower rates than when heavily taxed.
- (e) Foreign monopolies which tend to maintain high prices are forced by import duty to lower their prices. Moreover to these may be added, what has been said by the great American Statesman Alexander Hamilton :—“Moreover with a protective tariff many foreign manufacturers will be tempted to invest capital here and this transference of capital and efficient management will be at the disposal of the home consumers and buyers”.

Coming, to (2), it is too well known that there is acute distress prevailing amongst the labourers for want of employment, so the introduction of industries will only go to mitigate this distress of Indian's vast population. Of about 315 million souls, about 60 to 70 p.c. are supported by agriculture while a large residue is available for industries. Even those who pursue agriculture enjoy but a scanty subsistence. It is further admitted on all hands that industry is a higher species of employment and is more remunerative than agriculture. So it is evident that without trade and industry in addition, it is impossible for this vast population to maintain an average level of prosperity on agriculture alone. Therefore agriculture is not likely to suffer in any way. There seems no possibility of land

and capital being diverted from agriculture, because there is abundant of land and capital available for industries. Now about the question that farmers will not be able to get good prices for their produce, to this I have to observe that there are some articles in which India has a practical monopoly and as such she can dictate her terms. But there are articles such as wheat and other cereals, an embargo on which will only help to keep the prices within bounds specially so in times of scarcity and famines. So I find free trade unsuitable and protection beneficial. The arguments against protection are untenable. But what kind of protection is needed, it must not be indiscriminate protection, but a scientific and judicious one and for this purpose there should be a standing permanent tariff committee consisting of experts on economics and technology, which should constantly investigate the tariff policy of India on a scientific and economic basis, keeping it up-to-date every year. Before applying protection to a certain industry, it must be ascertained, "whether the industry is likely to be established through protection; whether the natural and human resources are such as to favour its rapid growth; whether that industry does not already derive protection by the cost of transport and the commodity produced as in coal mining and furniture making, whether the commodity, produced is a necessity of the poor and lastly whether the commodity is predominantly subject to law of increasing returns". This is the kind of protection India needs, it does not need prohibition.

India's demand may be categorically summarised thus—

- (i) India does not want free trade.
- (ii) India cannot afford to have Imperial Preference as long as Imperial imports are much larger than foreign imports, save when the articles concerned cannot be produced in India and India's interests do not clash with the British Empire.
- (iii) India needs protection. A high tariff wall is needed not only for the encouragement of industries, but also for revenue purposes.
- (iv) The raw materials which India exports should be taxed and the finished articles which returns to India

should be protected by very high tariff walls ranging from 40 to 60 p.c.

- (v) There should be a small export duty on food-stuffs and on exported raw materials of which this country has a monopoly or practical monopoly.
- (vi) Machinery and other appliances which are needed for industrial purposes should be admitted without any import duty.

It is in the fitness of things that the commission has been appointed. Even England and Manchester, the home of Free Trade has now adopted protection. It is now for the commission to recommend a well-planned and scientific protection as the best fiscal policy, which may in a generation or two fully develop the vast potential resources of this country and make India a self-contained and self-sufficient unit of the British Empire so that next twenty years may see India so metamorphosed that it may present a spectacle of a country flowing with wealth and prosperity and content. With industries fully developed, with produce more than we need, with exchange of surplus produce with other countries of the world, we shall have our finances overflowing, our people prosperous, contented and then fiscal affairs will be managed in the interests of India and England both.

Vox POPULI.

## THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN THE CONFLICT OF STUDY.

It is said of the ancient Greek that he knew something of everything—so small was the range of known facts. “You could know in the course of a few months’ study the main ideas to be known about music, about architecture, about physical science, about grammar, about philosophy. In the course of a few years you knew all there was to be known and you could come to your final judgment. You could stand in the centre as an educated man, full of enthusiasm, and full of the synthesis which you had made.”

The Hindu of the classical age studied the sacred scriptures and memorised if he did not always understand the Vedas. Then he studied grammar not so much as an aid to meticulously correct expression but as a science in itself and the splendid system of dialectic in connection with it brought almost a scientific training to his mind. He also learnt all about poetry and ritual and astronomy. His education gave him a synthesis of life, so that he viewed it not as a series of disjointed parts but as one whole.

Some allowance, however, has to be made from these broad generalisations. Plato banned poetry from his “Republic” and when Aristotle defined liberal education as that which did not bring in revenue, he must have had in his mind some scheme of education, not different from that the average Athenian received, but emphasising certain aspects of it. In India also it was not possible for average intellects to go through the whole gamut and men specialised in grammar or logic and so on.

Macaulay’s dispatch, couched in his characteristic superlatives held up Sanskrit learning to obloquy much in the same way as his History of England condemned downright the Tories. Our ancient literature is none the worse and the Tories none the better for his scathing condemnation, but that is beside the point. It introduced what we may call in the absence of a better name, the English system of education. This is not the place to enter into its merits or otherwise in native England. The story of its

shoddy imitation in this country is too well-known to need repetition. Critics of the Government of this country, especially non-co-operators, are airily asked whether any stick is good enough to beat the latter. The irony of the situation lies in the fact that it is the Bureaucracy who have supplied ever so many sticks to the critics, to beat with.

The education which was the vogue until recently has been described as literary. So it was in a sense though it has to be remembered that howsoever much we paid the piper, we could never call the tune we wanted, say the one to which Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch treated Cambridge. We are apt to forget, in the fulgence of a Nowroji or a Ghose or a Dutt, the armies of the unemployed-graduates choking every avenue to the Secretariat and spreading discontent, *vide* Rowlett Report. Everything was subordinated to the study of English which served as the sole synthesis of the Indian youth's education in the halcyon days of the bureaucratic regime. The tragedy of wasted talents it involved—for even in India with its literary traditions not every mind is cast in the literary mould—will make the proverbial drain of India's resources by way of Home charges and military expenditure and the latest stunt of 'reverse councils' pale into insignificance.

Under such a system of education there was not, there could not be any question as to the place of a particular subject in the conflict of studies. After receiving a very rudimentary general education, one had to make choice between liberal education, as Aristotle defined it, leading almost mechanically to the very illiberal profession of law and medicine. If he chose the former he was taught a little mathematics, Heaven alone knows why. Every other subject was subordinated to one end and one only—a command over English language. *History faded into mere literature for it lost sight of practical politics.* Much the same can be said of economics too. In a moment of inspiration Carlyle confronted his phlegmatic countrymen with the poser, "Shakespeare, or the British Empire?" Well may an educated Indian retort, "Shakespeare or the British connexion?" Unfortunately light does not come to all through Shakespeare, and the sheep which are not of his fold need other pastors.

We are to-day, probably, on the high wave of a reaction against this system of education which has been branded as "too wooden, too iron, too antediluvian" for our modern purposes. Vocational education and specialisation are the rage. The world has been flooded with facts so numerous and so complex that none save a faddist will deny the need of a careful selection and balancing of interests, not to speak of the weeding process in any *scheme* of education. We are not concerned with the general problem here. We shall therefore content ourselves with only two questions : (1) Has history a place in what we may call, to be exact, pre-specialisation education ? (2) What is its place in the study of humanities ?

Turn we now to the ancients for light and guidance. "In the education of Greece and Rome the events of the political life of the city and nation, were a part of education. Christian education emphasising so much the moral nature, eliminated the study of politics or the study of the interests of the individual with regard to his community." In Sanskrit there are some standard works on politics like Kautilya's 'Arthashastra', though it is difficult to say whether civics formed part of the schoolboy's education. Modern historical research has revealed the fact that medieval Hindu Kings used to keep blue-books (literal translation of the Sanskrit *nil-pitha*). Kanhal Pundit's *Rajtarangini*, Sanskrit history of Kashmere, is based on such administrative blue-books.

Of late civics has been introduced in school curriculum. The study of civics has to commence with the "Chronicle" and magazines rather than with the Regulating Act, or the abortive Act of 1853, but to be fruitful it must have its roots in history. Politics is just the subject about which Macaulay's rhetorical flourish 'every schoolboy knows' loses all its points, for if every schoolboy does not know politics, at any rate, he flatters himself that he knows all about it. It can never be too much emphasised with Seeley that, "Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history." Every schoolboy in this country, whatever is to be his future vocation, has to study the history of India, which by the way, does not begin with the battle of Plassey. In this age of encyclopaedias it is not so much the cramming of facts that matters, for the simple reason that even a prodigy cannot cram

enough. "What is the use?" as Mr. C. Jinarajadasa asks in his able article on Ideals of Education, "of knowing all the atomic weights of chemistry when you can turn over the page of a book and find them printed." What the teacher should aim at is not so much the *doping* of a few facts of history, but infusing a truly historical spirit, so that when as a citizen he is confronted with any political problem, he may be able to review it historically, with the help of standard histories if necessary. He must acquire the precious art of selecting and weighing the facts of history.

And what of the place of history in the study of humanities? Frankly we would not like history find a place in University curricula unless there is some sort of specialisation. History is not literature, it is not romance. Not to everybody, therefore, can it be interesting in the vulgar sense of the word. The higher study of history has to be specialised. There is no sense in bracketting it with economics. It liberalises politics which may truly be described as the noblest of occupations, consisting of a study of men in a world of men. Like everything else, specialisation, too, can be carried to excess. Darwin says in his Autobiography :

"It is an accursed evil to a man to become so absorbed in any subject as I am in mine. The commonplace man is *not* conscious of it, he obtains his heart's desire, if he works hard enough, but God sends leanness withal into his soul".

But leanness can never be the portion of a student of history. He studies it not to obtain his heart's desire, but to bring the wisdom of age to bear on the tidal wave of problems threatening to engulf him : in plain English, as Seeley says, to liberalise his politics.

A few words as to how history should be written will not be out of place. When Thackeray ridicules history as too pompous, containing statements that would not bear any sceptical examination, he refers to such worthless tasks as Swift's 'Conduct of the Allies' and Coxe's 'Life of Marlborough'. Another wrong way of writing history is to indulge in literary display and produce delightful books hovering midway between poetry and prose. The greatest outrage on History, however, is to make it serve

propagandist aims. Such are the histories of India where British historians go into almost lyrical and religious raptures over the conquest of India, skipping over the perfidies of Clive and Hastings and succeeding empire builders. British Constitutional History has also been falsified though not to serve so base a purpose. British historians put the cart before the horse, when they start with their favourite theses and somehow work them up. It is the French historians whom the world may well honour for placing truth above patriotism. The same may be said of Maratha rhapsodists whose ballads, though not history, are of great historical importance. We are not speaking without our book in this matter. Mr. Ackworth says of Maratha ballads that some of the best of them cominemorate defeat—a fact for which he was evidently not prepared.

Seeley's elaborate thesis on the interdependence of history and politics will come home to the reader when he recalls some of the puerilities of the controversy over non-co-operation. Educated men would not have stood aghast at the destructive aspect of the movement, if they had remembered what Marriot says of the failure of statesmen and diplomats who assembled at Vienna to give a lasting peace to Europe. They failed, Marriot says, for they tried to build on encumbered sites. Since then every Conference has been a failure down to Washington, for exactly the same reasons. The historical aspect of the Khilafat movement also could not be appreciated by many for want of a proper grounding in history. We remember a distinguished non-co-operating barrister exclaiming, "Angora! I do not know what it is, and I do not care to know." Perhaps the only thing he could recall about Angora was Angora goats of which he may have read in a text book of geography. Such appalling ignorance of history, if inexcusable in a layman, is all the more so in a politician.

R. M. TALPADE.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.

The present is an age of great national awakening. The Indian Nation is feeling a unity and a consciousness such as it has perhaps never felt in its long centuries of history. Our present awakening unfortunately cannot be said to be based on a true understanding of our past or a correct interpretation of our national heritage. Our movement to-day is a revolt and not a re-birth. It is a revolt against the existing conditions but it is not the expression of the living soul of India. That soul lies shrouded and unseen. It can be rediscovered only by a proper understanding of our past, a sympathetic interpretation of our history. This is unfortunately what we do not possess.

The history of India as taught in our schools and colleges is in fact no history at all. To our Anglo-Indian historians of yesterday the political history of India began only with the battle of Plassey. The 3000 years of culture and development that preceded it, formed merely a fitting prelude to the crowning consummation of the *British Raj*. If Mahomedan and Hindu History were studied at all it was for the purpose of comparing them with conditions as they exist now; if not it is to preach the theme of Indian incapacity. No Indian student reading the history of his country as told in the official text books can help feeling ashamed of his country and its past. We were, so our official histories say, at the mercy of every invader from the North-west, though we are not told how it took 5 centuries for the hardy Muslims after their establishment in Afghanistan to break into the plains of India. The history of these five centuries of struggle on the border in which the Mahomedan Army was kept at bay by Rajput heroism still remains to be written. We are again supposed to be unwarlike; otherwise how could Clive with his few Englishmen have beaten 50,000 troops at Plassey. The only deed of heroism on the part of Indians that history records is the tale of the Sepoys feeding Clive and his company while starving themselves. On the other hand there is no limit to our inhumanity and barbarism. Patriotism of course is

unknown to us. We produced no generals, no statesmen, no poets, when this is what we are taught it is no wonder that most of us hate to look back upon India's past, or what is psychologically the same thing, begin to create imaginatively an ideal golden age which has no counterpart in history.

Indian Nationalism could be placed on a sound basis only when these two myths are equally discarded; only when we realise that the history of Indian India is a living continuity. The view that believes that the past is glorious because it is past and the view that ignores Indian History as something non-existent are both fundamentally wrong. We must come to see that in India as in other countries, the human mind has evolved with the progress of time, and it is the continuity of this evolution which constitutes history and is the basis of civilisation. Only if we look at our history from this point of view shall we understand our own life. The history of India is not like the history of Assyria, Babylon or Greece. It is not a thing at the end of which you could write *finis*. It cannot therefore be studied except in relation to the present. The historical India that we know in the 6th century B. C. is the same as the India of to-day in the same sense as the Ganges at Benares is the same as the Ganges at Hardwar. It is true that waters of many tributaries have flowed into it but the main stream is the same. Changes there are but there is no mistake in identity. The vast majority of people who live in the land think the same thought, eat the same food, have the same culture and same outlook as when the *Tathagato* preached in the sixth century B. C. Hence Indian history, even the most prehistoric, has to be studied as a living entity, as a continuous evolution, as a growth.

That India from Cape Camorin to the Himalayas presents a cultural unity inspite of divergent religious creeds and languages is now almost a platitude. It is historically true that India has not been united politically. But India is greater than her politics. Her social unity is unquestioned. The institutions in which the fundamental ideas of her life are realised are the same everywhere. The dominating factor of caste stamps a unifying mark on her sons. Her political history is undoubtedly a never-ending record of dynastic wars with no national

aim but the history of India is not the history of her kings or of her Parliaments. It is the history of the Indian people. It is the history of their ideals as expressed in institutions, social and religious, in moral ideas, in cultural synthesis. This is what is often forgotten. The mistaken outlook of the Europeans who wanted to read into Indian History categories of political thought entirely different from ours has been at the root of all the dangerous misconceptions that have overtaken the study of Indian History. Asoka, not Attila, Sankara, not Charlemagne, have been our heroes.

When this fact is realised Indian History will present itself as a study of the wonderful institutions in and through which the soul of India has expressed itself :—caste with its wide ramifications, village government, trade-guilds, Buddhism with its wonderful *Sangha* and its influence in Japan, China, Tibet and Turkistan, the growth of moral ideas, the Bhakti movement, all these will then become matters of greater and more vital importance than the discovery of an additional coin of Samudra Gupta or a new fact concerning Aurangazebe. The history of Indian religions is yet but little known. The humanising influence of Buddhism and Jainism, the revival of Hinduism, the action and reaction of Hinduism and Islam on each other—these are still outside the purview of Indian Historical Research.

“What is important for us to know of every age” said Mark Pattison “is not its peculiar opinions but the complex elements of that moral feeling and character in which as in their congenial soil opinions grow”. For every age what is of importance is the social atmosphere : “the complex elements of moral feeling and character”. In India, all through the ages, this has been a continuous growth. Even during the 6th centuries of Mahomedan rule Hindu India continued to live and develop. It is a significant, if a singularly astonishing fact that some of the most interesting developments of Hindu Law and Philosophy took place during the time of Mahomedans. Jimutavahana’s Dayabhaga was evolved at a time when Muslims were ruling political India from Delhi. The astonishing succession of religious revivals from Ramanuja to Rammohun Roy also show that India had a social life of her own which was not dependent

upon her political life. All our attempts at history-writting has been superficial because we took under consideration only political facts. The wider field of social atmosphere was left unexplored and unexplained. To historians until now India has existed only in terms of the worn out formulae of dyansties and conquests.

The interpretation of Indian History is handicapped by another and more serious difficulty. The Indian mind has been and is still to a very great extent moulded by its own mythologies and folklore. To the vast majority of Indians the wonderful epic of the *Mahabharata* is literature, science, religion—in fact everything that goes up to make the cultural inheritance of man. *Mahabharata* as its name symbolises embodies in itself the culture of India in all its aspects. This book of books is for us everything and for the scientific historians nothing! Only on a proper study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* can the sure foundation of Indian history be laid. It is the most foolish of ideas to begin with the birth of the Buddha and say that India before His time is not known to us. Indeed, if any period of Indian history is known to Indians with a vividness and sense of reality which equals the present it is the time of the historic conflict at Kurukshetra. Even an uneducated Hindu will be able to give some idea of social conditions, in good King Yudhishthira's time. And yet the *Mahabharata* is a sealed book to most English educated Hindus. It is mentioned in history only to be brushed aside as unreliable. It certainly contains no chronological appendix, no maps and no bibliography. All the same, it is *the one Itihasa* or History for Hindus.

Again Indian History without a proper understanding of Hindu Mythology and tradition can only be a hopelessly unreal narrative of uninteresting facts. Such a history will never reveal the Indian mind nor explain its outlook. The mythology of a people is their mental background. What would be said of a historian of Greece who was not familiar with Hellenic Mythology? But Anglo-Indian historians from Elphinstone to Vincent Smith have made no attempt to correlate the permanent threads of national character as seen in the Mythology and the folklore of the Hindus. Ganesh to them is merely a grotesque

elephant-faced deity. Kali is but the terrible goddess. The episode of Radha and Krishna suggest to them nothing but carnal sensuality. To our historians it is inexplicable how these could be connected with the development of the Indian mind. From one end of India to the other to this day, Ganesh is given the same one-tusked elephant face, Kali has got the same terrible attributes and the love of Radha and Krishna move men and women such as nothing else does. Mahomedan minstrels, gharwali tribes, priests and peasants—every one sings the same songs which celebrate the *Krida* of Krishna.

The utter ignorance of these facts make Indian history merely a record of events. The Cambridge University Press is announced to bring out soon a set of volumes on Indian History on the model of Cambridge Modern History. No doubt it will be a scholarly production. New Kings and their coins will be unearthed; correct dates will be assigned; new inscriptions will be deciphered and it will be profusely illustrated. But beyond this nothing will be done. It will tell the same old tale. An hour with Babu Bhagavan Das of Benares (*not* with his books) will enlighten a student on the true spirit of Indian History more than all the volumes of this new Cambridge venture. And why? because Babu Bhagavan Das has understood the permanent values of Indian life.

Let alone all this. Even the political history of India in historic times has not yet been written. Not one in a million knows of the expansion of Hindu Culture to Tibet, Siam, Indo China and the Pacific. In Siam Hinduism still persists and Brahmin priests officiate in marriages. The Advaita movement that is associated with the name of Sankara is perhaps the most important fact between the birth of the Buddha in the 6th century B. C. and the British conquest in the 19th century A. D. And yet beyond the vague recognition of Sankara as a philosopher and religious reformer historians have left his movement coldly aside. By his consolidation of Hindu society no less than by his interpretation of the philosophy of the Upanishads to suit modern conditions, Sankara left not only a deep impress on Hindu Society but has actually dominated it up to the present time. It is Sankara that governs the mind of the great mass

of Hindus to-day. His life and work fall within historic times. Numerous are his biographies in Sanskrit. His movement has affected more people than the Reformation of Luther. Yet for Indian History he is as good as non-existent. The whole succession of Hindu reformers who followed Sankara, Ramanuja, Madheva, Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, to mention only a few, gets but scant consideration at the hands of our scholars, while we are treated to an elaborate discussion as to whether or not Mahmud of Gazni invaded India, 11, 13 or 17 times.

No attempt is made by Indian Historians to study the character of Indian civilisation. The synthetic nature of Hindu society is unfortunately a fact that is too often forgotten. People speak of Hindu culture as if it were essentially Aryan. In fact Hinduism itself is a wonderful synthesis of different racial cultures. The Dravidian element is perhaps as important as the Aryan, if we still prefer to keep the old terminology. The assimilation of the many different cultural types which can even now to some extent be stratigraphically worked out is of the very nature of Hinduism. The Scythian, the Mongolian, the Hun and even the Indo-Greek merged into the all-embracing folds of Hindu Society. Islam alone has to some extent maintained its identity. Of the causes of this failure of Hinduism to absorb Islam within it, we need not speak here. It is possible to exaggerate its importance. What is generally forgotten is the approximation of culture that has taken place. Here again we see the undying assertion of the genius of India towards cultural unity.

In these days to speak of Hindu Muslim unity savours of politics. But we should remember that fundamentally this question is not political at all, not even religious. The unity when it comes has got to be social and cultural. In this sense the approximation has been taking place for a long time. In music, art, architecture and even in literature the Hindu and Islamic cultures have synthesised completely. The national mind after all expresses itself most unmistakably in music and in this the Hindu-Muslim unity is complete. The love of Krishna and Radha, of the Eternal fluteplayer with the cowherdess is daily sung by Mahomedan musicians equally with Hindus.

Though the Music of Hindustan is essentially a Hindu art its best exponents have for a long time been Muslims. In painting and miniature it is the same. Turn over the pages of Laurence Binyou's Court Painting of the Great Moghuls and one is struck by the fact that most of the pictures given there have been painted by Hindus. Rajput painting is the outcome of a fruitful culture contact which united the soul of the two peoples.

Architecture again tells the same tale. We need not go into the controversy as to whether the "Indo-Saracenic" dome was an adaptation of the *Lotus Motif* or whether the Moghul buildings were the Mahomedan embodiment of the Hindu architectural tradition. One has only to look at a place like Ahmedabad to be convinced of the Hindu-Muslim synthesis in the architectural world. In literature also until recently this union was complete. Hindustani in itself was the symbol of such a union. The earlier literature of Hindi is enriched by Hindus and Muslims alike. Malik Mohammed Taisi and Abdur Rahman Khan Khanan take their place in the galaxy of Hindi poets. To Hindu *Motifs* the Punjabi poet Varish Shah wrote his poems. Again it was a Mahomedan ruler, Nasir Shah that ordered the Bengali translation of the Mahabharata. In our own day it is the Christian Michael Madhusudan who popularised the sweetness of Pramila and the heroism of Meghanada. It was again a Christian girl Toru Dutt that sang the songs of ancient India. Some of the greatest masters of Urdu—popularly supposed to be an exclusively Mahomedan language—are even now Hindus.

The attempt at a cultural synthesis was by no means confined to the cosmopolitan fraternity of art. In religion itself the genius of India for synthesis asserted itself. Nanak strove to found a religion which combined the best of both Islam and Hinduism. He probably created only a new sect but it demonstrates this basic fact about Indian culture that it is assimilative and synthetic in its essence. Kabir was a Mussalman weaver on whom the spirit of Vaishnava revival worked miracles and when he died Hindus and Mahomedans fought for his corpse. In Kabir we have the perfect union of Hinduism with Islam, a man to whom Allah and Rama were synonymous. Akbar's political experiment was foredoomed to failure as India

attached only a secondary importance to politics ; but his Din Ilahi again was an attempt to consciously unify India on the basis of a wider religion. Its failure was ignominious because it was too much a matter of policy and not at all based on a conviction. It is interesting to remember that the father of Sivaji himself was named Shahji in honour of a Muslim saint to whose blessing his birth was supposed to be due.

Indian history is not therefore entirely a record of Hindu Muslim rivalry for political sovereignty. That is a matter of minor importance, which we now emphasise owing partly to the homage we pay to European shibboleths and clap trap expressions. What the historian of India should aim at is not to give a connected chronological survey of India but to work out the underlying unity of Indian life. It is the soul of the Indian people that we have to rediscover. That will not and cannot come through long dissertations on wars and dynasties. It will come only through a sympathetic study of that complex of social traditions, institutions, customs and relationships which we may call our national inheritance. It is better expressed in the fresco paintings of Ajanta, in the temples of Muttra, Mahamallapuram, Kanjevaram and Benares, in the architectural monuments of the Moghuls, in the songs of Tulasi, Vidyapathi, Kamba and Manikka Vachakar. It is visible to this day in the magic pages of the Mahabharata, in the undying inscriptions of the good King Piyadasi, in the life and death of Chaitanya Deva, in the effort of Ram Mohun Roy, in the gospel of Gandhi. Indian history that does not see India with a single eye may be a combination of everything excellent but it *will never be history*.

K. M. PANIKKAR.

## THE AMERICAN WOMAN IN INDUSTRY.

Among the subjects most hotly contested during the past century in America, was the cause of the working woman. This has always proved a fertile theme for discussion among the sterner sex. While arguments waxed long and loud, women quietly followed the course decreed by necessity or inclination, until in the year 1921, the American woman in industry has ceased to be a speculation—she is an accomplished fact.

We might with great profit review woman's place along industrial lines during previous centuries; doing so, we would find that women to-day are concerned chiefly with the very same pursuits which have interested them from the earliest times. In the Book of Proverbs we find some of these activities mentioned: "She worketh wool and flax.....she is like the merchant ships; she bringeth her food from afar. She considereth a field and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.....She perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable.....She maketh fine linen and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant."

Altho' woman has ever been an industrial factor, society has been interested in her chiefly as a wife and mother. But the incidental interest which society has accorded woman along other lines has developed during recent years to such proportions, that the question now is rather, the effect on the industrial world were all women workers replaced by men.

Critics are still with us, however, who contend that modern industry has called woman from the healthful pursuits of the home to infinite physical and moral detriment as a woman. We, together with all right thinking men and women, are ready to admit that there is no compensation socially for the loss of good wives and mothers and home-makers. But many worthy women are not called to serve in the capacity of either wives or mothers; for such employment must be provided.

The natural feminine movement toward industry was stimulated in the early years by necessity; and when a woman sought employment she but advertised her dire need, thus

placing a social barrier between herself and her more favored associates. In this day such is not the case, since all occupations have been thrown open to women. Working side by side may be found women of education and social standing together with those less favored in life. The stigma resting on women who toil has long since been removed and never has there been such fraternity between the leisure and working classes of women as there is to-day.

Many have been the contributing reasons why there has been placed in woman's hands the great power she now wields industrially. Among the most potent is the fact that modern, specialized industry has removed from the American home many of the domestic arts. Ready-made clothing has relieved the already busy wife and mother from long days spent with the needle. Where fashions are ever changing; and with the four seasons of the year, each of which requires separate weights of clothing, the task of providing suitable garments for a family of growing boys and girls has been in past years, a serious problem for every mother to solve. Now, clothes for children of all ages, as well as all kinds of garments required for adults, may be bought ready-to-wear.

Another time-saver is the city or village bakery from which bread and pastry freshly baked each morning, may be delivered.

Vacuum cleaners have come into very general use and spare the housewife much drudgery of cleaning.

The use of electricity and gas have banished the kerosene lamps of an earlier day. Indeed, the electric and gas ranges for cooking purposes have widely replaced the coal range or cook stove.

City laundries give special attention to family laundry, making special rates for such work. In many homes the power washer, such as electric or water, is used, thus simplifying the laundry question as to time and effort. These are a few of the labor saving devices in America whereby women find themselves possessing many hours of leisure which they formerly did not have.

The World War may be regarded very justly, as "The Great Divide" in industrial life. Nowhere in America have

such changes been more apparent than in the work-a-day world for women. When men by the thousands were called to the camps, women in equal numbers stepped into their places of work; whether it was following a plough or taking over and successfully conducting a complicated business. Women responded to the need in every factory and plant, regardless of occupation and demonstrated conclusively that woman has a place outside the home. Indeed, it was at this time that the problem of the best method of using woman power, to the Nation's highest advantage, guarding against exploitation which would be detrimental to health and efficiency, led the American Government to create the Woman's Bureau as a part of the United States Department of Labor. The object of such an organization was to "Form definite policies and standards which the Federal Government recommends for all those who employ women." Two peculiar conditions of work affect women employees: First, the hours at which the work is performed; second, the length of the working day. The work, therefore, of such a Bureau is constantly to examine conditions and interpret their meaning to the community as well as to women workers. The dissemination also of a growing information on these and all other subjects of related interest, will be a greatly needed work.

Needless to say, a woman was at once appointed Director of the Woman's Bureau. She estimates the number of women employed in gainful occupations in this country as being over twelve millions. Practically no industry can be found in which women are not engaged in some of its processes.

The organization of the Woman's Bureau was not an original thought with the Government of the United States. Working women had petitioned through their conventions for such an organization fully ten years before its formation, and a bill providing for such a Bureau was introduced in Congress in 1916, failing in passage.

The Director, Miss Mary Anderson, writing in the *Woman's Home Companion*, tells us that "Such a Bureau develops policies and standards to promote the welfare of the wage-earning woman, improve working conditions, increase their efficiency and advance their opportunities for profitable employment".

The adjustment of work and working conditions will, therefore, come within the scope of its activities; and where women are found engaging in work whose processes are injurious to health, recommendations will be made that the employment of women in such processes shall cease altogether.

Traveling in rural districts one may find this motto in almost any country shop; "If you don't see what you want, ask for it." Acting in accord with the spirit of this motto, the Woman's Bureau promptly set for itself the task of formulating and publishing the following definite standards for women laborers:

- (1) Equal pay for equal work for men and women.
- (2) A living wage and a wage rate which will cover the cost of living for dependents and not merely for the individual.
- (3) An eight-hour day and one-half day's holiday on Saturday.
- (4) Provisions for sanitation and comfort in factories.
- (5) Prohibition of employment of women on work known to be more injurious to women than to men.
- (6) Intelligent systems of employment management, with women in executive positions to handle problems effecting women, and provision for representatives of the workers to share in the control of conditions of their employment.
- (7) That no woman shall be employed between the hours of twelve o'clock, midnight, and six a.m.
- (8) Not less than thirty minutes shall be allowed for a meal in each working day.

Industrial organizations throughout the country interested in the employment of women have accepted these standards as being just in each particular.

Governors of various States were not slow in applying to the Woman's Bureau for enlightenment as to working conditions for women within their own States. Surveys were promptly made and reports of their findings submitted. As a result, such Governors have made recommendations to their respective legislatures along feasible remedial lines.

That period in American history when free public schools and preventive medicine came into being, closely followed by great inventions in machines, marked the opening door to woman's activities. A short ten years ago only ten per cent of wage-earning women came from the ranks of the married class. To-day, owing to the high cost of living, a very real need for efficient workers, as well as inclination on the part of the workers themselves, married women are to be found in increasingly large numbers in many occupations.

As New England was the home of the first settlers, so was it the home of the first factory girl. On the Atlantic seaboard was founded the first textile industry; here to-day flourish large factories employing thousands of laborers of both sexes. With the development of the country's great resources the factory system has gone hand in hand. Here speed means money and consequently a high rate of efficiency is insisted upon and developed. Since the majority of the employees in many large factories are women, there was soon brought out most clearly the question of conserving the energies of the working woman. With women in every country throughout the world pressing into industry, the question of the conservation of women engaged in useful, productive and distributive service, cannot be overlooked with impunity by any Government.

Clear thinking and far seeing business men realize that "A new force has been let loose in industry." The woman worker has become an economic force. She has demonstrated her fitness to understand human problems and her unbiased viewpoint on questions relating to employer and employee has been salutary. Indeed the woman worker is one of the industrial surprises of recent years. During the war she did most unusual things; her latent talents and abilities came to the fore and her fitness for responsibility and initiative was demonstrated the world over. The economic independence which woman has achieved in America is the hard earned reward of long years of struggle.

No less an authority than Miss Ida Tarbell, writing in *Industrial Management* during the past year, states that women in industry are on a new basis. "In America", she

writes, "the code of labour standards for women workers adopted by the Government is by far the most comprehensive and satisfactory ever developed." These standards, she declared, would be permanent; and prophesies that women of all classes will see to it that "women workers will not be injured for motherhood or home-making."

This prophecy is by way of being fulfilled. Clubs, composed of America's most intelligent and broad-minded women, are becoming a mighty factor in awakening public conscience to the betterment of conditions surrounding the working girl. With the new weapon of political franchise, women will see that standards are upheld and laws enforced. Such organizations as The League of Women Voters, Consumers' League, Woman's Trade Union League, and the American Association for Labor Legislation have already announced themselves as standing squarely behind the work that the Woman's Bureau of Labour is doing. Miss Tarbell also points out that other nations are adopting modern methods in industry. As an illustration she cites Japan; who, within a period of thirty years has established twenty thousand factories. In these are employed six hundred thousand women, who often work twelve hours per day, seven days per week, on pitiful wages. "Such conditions," she writes, "require loose thinking and violent action."

As an illustration of real protective legislation, we might cite the American eight-hour law. This law goes farther than any other law in the United States. It prescribes the shortest work day yet enacted, and includes in its scope a larger number of occupations than any similar statute. This law has been tested and upheld in its entirety by the Supreme Court of our land.

During the past century the hours of labor have been reduced from sixteen to eight and ten. Wages have increased most where the hours have been most reduced. As a result, the moral, intellectual and physical conditions of the working people have been advanced. "Opportunities given have been opportunities improved". The eight-hour law passed in a large majority of the States, was backed by strong popular opinion. Employers in many textile manufacturing centers adopted

shorter hours months before the law became legally effective. Its passage was accompanied everywhere by the advance of piece-rates wages and the effect of this measure has been a marked increase in production. In Massachusetts where the forty-eight hour week is prescribed by law, some employers are voluntarily working on forty-four and forty-five hour schedules. Recently a number of prominent retail stores in the city of Boston, Massachusetts, adopted a seven and one-half hour day. This action parallels the working hours of telephone operators in the great western city of Denver, Colorado.

The movement for shorter hours has been rightly termed "One of the most beneficent aspects of the betterment of material conditions during the last two or three generations."

It is a well recognized fact, that women are not physically adapted for work requiring great endurance. Because of this and through the energy and imagination of foremen and manufacturers, all stand-up work is rapidly being converted into sitting work. Foot and back rests also have been tested and found to be of great assistance in lessening fatigue. Improved conditions along this line have been reported on by widely diversified industries. Industrial engineers, physicians and manufacturers all over the country are submitting to the Woman's Bureau photographs of specially designed chairs that are being used at the thousands of different processes which modern machinery has brought to the use of industry.

Such a law as that of the great State of Pennsylvania, if enforced, would work a transformation in many occupations for women. It requires "That every person, firm or corporation employing girls or adult women in any establishment, shall provide suitable seats for their use; and shall permit such use when the employees are not necessarily engaged in active duties."

The following resolution was adopted last year by the Association of Governmental Labor Officials :

"Resolved : That this convention recommend that the Woman's Bureau of Washington, D. C., be asked to make a special study of seats for working women, with special reference as to posture."

Conditions surrounding the working woman are constantly

on the upgrade as to sanitation and convenience. Under this head may be classed hot and cold water, individual towels, soap, drinking water which is cool and accessible with individual drinking cups or sanitary bubbling fountains. Accompanying the above are rooms for eating lunches and resting.

In protective legislation for women wage-earners, those groups least able to protect themselves because of training, education or position, need most assistance. The dust protection law in some States is recommended as being extended to include protection in all processes involving exposure to dust or fumes. Work in textile factories is very conducive to lung troubles; the dust from linen being most harmful, of wool next and cotton least. Dye works and potteries are also classed among the dust producing trades.

Until recent years woman's work has been merely supplemental; notwithstanding this, the working man of America viewed the female worker as a direct competitor—cheaper but more diligent. That there are spots in our country where women are not yet receiving a square deal industrially, may be gathered from the following: "In a certain far western state, in which the chief industries are food products, textiles, clothing and furnishings, a survey reports three-fifths of the employees as being women, and the wages paid range a little over one-half to four fifths of those paid to male workers for the same classification of work".

The effectiveness of the female laborer in machinery will be shown in this incident. The National Industrial Conference Board prepared and sent to two hundred and fifty-four machine plants a questionnaire for the purpose of comparison. Replies showed that in sixteen per cent. of these plants the output of woman labor was greater than the output of male labor; while in the remaining plants the average was about equal.

Throughout the South the tobacco industry affords employment to a great army of women, sixteen thousand alone being employed in the manufacture of the world-famed Camel Cigarettes. But in no other industry so much as in the silk mills can it be said that the very flower of American girlhood is

to be found as wage-earners. Here one-half of the workers are women, and the average age is barely twenty years.

Wherever we may turn, however, our investigations reveal only a small per cent of women doing night work. In the great State of New York will be found a rigid enforcement of that law on her statute books prohibiting night work for women. There, in the largest city of America, we find the highest wages paid to women in the industrial world; and there we also find the greatest misery resulting from underpaid wages. From this center the clothing trade of the entire country is controlled, and in its manufacture women by the thousands are employed.

Perhaps the work most alluring to the feminine mind, is that of the sales-lady. Employment of this kind offers greater advantages since there is constant contact with the outside world. In this occupation the worker must present a neat, attractive appearance and her opportunity for promotion is ever present. We have in mind a cash girl employed in a large department store in the city of New York, who advanced from that humble position to the post of buyer at a salary of 18,000 rupees per year. Such incidents show what may be achieved by the woman of ability and initiative.

But of far greater importance than any of the measures now being framed and later to be enacted into laws for the betterment of industrial conditions, is the spirit of democracy at work as a mighty leaven in the heart of America's industrial world. This may not be apparent to the casual onlooker; but to those interested, a comparison of working conditions a short ten years ago with those of to-day, will reveal some startling changes. Among the most prominent of the ameliorative forces which have chosen to walk hand in hand with the working girl to cheer and sustain her, may be mentioned such benevolent institutions as Hull House, located at Chicago, Illinois. At the head of this great work presides that queen of social workers, Miss Jane Addams. Located in America's largest cities, such institutions conduct educational classes, social meetings and summer outings, otherwise impossible for thousands of working women.

Another force in bringing about better and happier conditions in the world of work, is the Young Woman's Christian

Association. This organization is the pioneer in founding homes for girls working on a low wage. Every city of any size in the United States has its Y. W. C. A. Building, and in the larger cities, buildings costing immense sums have been erected where educational and social work is carried on.

In hundreds of factories there are maintained Y. W. C. A. lunch and rest rooms and entertainment is provided for the noon hour and other free time. So valuable do employers regard the work of this great Christian organization, that they contribute very freely to its support. Another phase of activity on the part of this Association, is the maintenance of employment bureaus. Nor is the bureau conducted merely to fill places. Investigations are made, that the bureau may know the precise character of the establishment as well as the requirements of the position.

The Association of Working Girls Clubs is another agency of far-reaching effect. One of its most important features is a mutual benefit fund in which girls are insured against sickness and death for a small fee per month. This fee entitles all members to hospital privileges.

But while the above are signs pointing out the need for industrial democracy, the way itself is being blazed by many forward-looking men owing large industrial plants. We might cite many instances which are attracting wide attention, where the problem of human relations is being solved in business establishments in America, by that Ancient Rule "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." Such standards are converting human machines into human beings, whose response to justice and kindness is a whole-hearted service. That great principle "A Government of the people, for the people and by the people," for which men have given their lives in order that it might stand as the highest type of Government, has been slow to be applied in the business world. But the success of the Partnership Plan is proof that it will work a transformation in industry as well as in Governments. Its application develops the highest standard of efficiency as well as production. Out of eighteen plants in a certain line of industry, thirteen were closed down altogether during a time of national financial stress; of the only two running full time, one was conducted on the

Partnership Plan. Where the principle of industrial democracy is applied, the factory atmosphere is entirely absent. Here Labor and Capital share all profits equally and all laborers are stimulated thereby to their highest endeavor. Where such a plan is lacking and there exists instead a state of irritating supervision urging the worker to greater effort, the result is retarded production--diminished efficiency. Under a beneficent industrial scheme, old age pensions and health benefits are some of the outstanding effects. In her illuminating article on "Working With The Working-Woman", appearing in *Harpers Magazine* for November, 1921, Cornelia Stratton Parker tells us what this Partnership Plan is as outlined in the Handbook there used: "Our profit sharing is a fifty-fifty proposition. The market wage for our industry is paid to Labor and a minimum of six per cent. is paid to Capital. After these have been paid, together with regular operating expenses, depreciation reserve, taxes, etc., and after the sinking funds have been provided for by setting aside fifteen per cent. of the net profits for Labor and fifteen per cent. for Capital, the remaining net profits are divided fifty per cent. for Capital and fifty per cent. for the operatives, and the latter sum divided in proportion to the amount of each one's pay for the period.....A true partnership must jointly provide for losses as well as for the sharing of profits.....These Sinking Funds are intended to guarantee Capital its minimum return of six per cent. during periods when this shall not have been carried, and to provide unemployment insurance for the operatives, paying half wages when the company is unable to furnish employment."

Another great milestone in industrial progress was the first "Summer College for Women in Industry," recently conducted by the famous Bryn Mawr College for women. Eighty-three students were enrolled, foreign born as well as native American. They came from almost every State in the Union and represented organized as well as unorganized Labor. Nineteen industries were present in this group of workers who were given their first opportunity to obtain a wider outlook upon life that they might increase their influence in the industrial world.

Describing this great experiment, the noted writer, Maude

Radford Warren, writing in the *Ladies Home Journal*, for October, 1921, terms these seekers after knowledge "The human symbols of a great moment in industrial progress." She thus describes the school: "Eight weeks work carried on under some nineteen instructors, sixteen tutors, a doctor and various members of the directing committee. Each student was supposed to spend from ten to fourteen hours a week in regular classroom attendance. Five hours went to one of several courses in labor and economics; two to social or political history; two to literature; one to composition; one hour to physiology and hygiene. There were also special optional lectures on industrial organization and on English and American labor movements, or two or three hours in the appreciation of music".

Encouraging this momentous movement toward education for the working woman are various organizations, such as the "Trade Union College of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; The National Woman's Trade Union League of Chicago, Illinois; The International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Woman's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor." To these may be added many women prominent in the development of laws and industrial programs looking to the welfare of woman in industry.

Notwithstanding all these favorable signs and omens, knowledge along the line of the "psychology of employment" may still be said to be in its infancy. The requisite ability to direct the right man or woman to the right work is the ideal sought after by employment managers. To prevent discrimination against women, at the same time giving them adequate protection; to study their future in the industrial world and to be ready to meet the larger demands that are sure to come in the productive life of the Nation—these, constituting the Problem of Woman in Industry are some of the questions that will need expert and separate attention for many years to come in America, as well as in every other land where women are employed.

INA SALOME DELO.

## THE FABIANS, FABIANISM AND THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Years ago, in my undergraduate days at the college, in one of Mr. Wells' books, I came across a reference to the Fabians and my curiosity was naturally aroused, partly owing to the strangeness of the name and perhaps partly to the context in which that name occurred. However, want of facilities and other preoccupations prevented me from making any further inquiries about it and the only vague impressions which was left in my mind for several years was that the Fabians were a set of people interested in free thought and freer relations of the sexes and inspite of repeated efforts I have failed to find what could have led me to connect the eminently respectable Fabians to these things. But I suppose it was a pardonable error because in the first place a young man of seventeen or thereabout making his first acquaintance with the larger world of thought in a new atmosphere at his college is overwhelmed with a series of new names, movements and activities and succeeds only later on in emerging from this confused and vague mass of mental fermentations. In the second, in those pre-war days, we were only too happy and too willing to connect anything and everything that was shocking and bad with socialists and socialism. We would have believed anything of them !

I need not however repeat that the Fabians are or were even in their early days a highly respectable and serious minded people in spite of the fact that Mrs. Besant and Mr. G. B. Shaw were amongst the leading spirits. With but one exception, Mr. W. L. Phillips, who was by the way the author of the first of the celebrated Tracts, all the early Fabians came from the middle class, the stronghold of respectability, and their work too for many a year lay amongst the middle class and the late-Victorian liberals. Their co-operation and combined action with labour organisations was a much later phase and was led up to by many an undecisive flirtation. Of late however the Fabians and the Labour leaders are very close but the possible later

developments in the English Socialistic thought, in my opinion, will perhaps make it again difficult for them to be confined within the Fabian Formula if it remains the same.

In spite of the fact that the word "Fabians" hides persons of various views, temperament, ability and importance, if one wants to understand them as Fabians, that is on their Fabian side, one must understand Mr. and Mrs. Webb and Mr. George Bernard Shaw. They are the typical Fabians. The earlier history of the Society is made, if history is ever made by individual men and women, by Webb and Shaw and later by Mrs. Webb. There is an intellectual individualism as there is an ethical individualism and one of the great problems of the new age will be to reconcile this insistent and clamouring intellectual individualism which has all the elements of creative power and chaos in it with the greater and greater need of co-operation in intellectual work. On the ethical side we all admit now that owing to the increasing complexity in and inter-dependence of human relations, some form of activity has to be devised which without sacrificing the individual and with him the source of creative faculty, will make co-operation possible. This need is just as great on the intellectual side as on the ethical. The complexity and interdependence of the different departments of knowledge is no less. The little co-operation and co-ordination that there has been in the past in this direction has not been a result of conscious or organised effort. Perhaps it is really more difficult. Our faculties for it have not yet been trained or developed. The first writer so far to emphasise it and bring it into prominence, within my knowledge, is Mr. Graham Wallas, who in his latest book "Our Social Heritage"\*\* makes a consistent effort to work it out. Perhaps the increasing attention paid to "Sociology" and the recognition of its importance is a happy sign because it is ultimately from this quarter that the solution will come.

I have dealt with this subject at such a great length, deviating from my proper subject for the sole reason that amongst the manifold activities of the Fabians and especially of the three

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\*George Allen and Unwin, (1921).

above named, apart from the great importance of the actual matter of their work, to me what strikes even more is the method of doing it. As everybody knows, every one of these three and for the matter of that every Fabian is a person of more than average individuality and force of personal character. With the full retention of this individuality and personality not only in their life but in all their works, the Fabians have succeeded in producing a great amount of literature on the political and economic side of a very great importance as a result of more or less co-operative and co-ordinated effort. The celebrated Fabian Essays and most of the Fabian Tracts, though mainly purporting to be the work of one or the other individual member, have the mark of joint effort not only in its scheme but even in its execution. The fact that several of the Fabians are authors of unaided original work in various spheres of activity, such as, Drama in case of Mr. Shaw, has not prevented them from being joint workers in other spheres without either losing their personal charm, style, or creed. And it is for this quality that I mentioned Mr. and Mrs. Webb and Mr. Shaw as the typical Fabians because it is most developed and most remarkable in them. I am a little surprised at Mr. Wallas for going so far as Mesopotamia and Dardanelles for the material for his criticism when he himself having once been a leading spirit amongst the Fabians and an important contributor to the famous Essays, which more than anything else embodies the co-operative work of the Fabians under a single cover, ignores it altogether in his book. An analysis of the method of the Fabians would have been as useful on the positive side of his thesis as that of the Reports of the Dardanelles or the Mesopotamia commissions.

All that I say here about the corporate character of the Fabian activity does not of course amount to saying that they have solved the problem. What I mean is that they have, in response to the needs of the time, made an unconscious effort towards it and have gained some measure of success. It contains some very valuable suggestions for the future "Social Psychologist" who will want to tackle the problem systematically.

Amongst the other prominent early Fabians were Sir Sydney Oliver, Hubert Bland, and William Clarke, who with the four

already mentioned, Messrs. Webb, Shaw, Wallas and Mrs. Besant were the joint authors of the famous Fabian Essays\* of which about 40,000 copies have so far been sold. It is by far the most important publication of the society and occupies a very high place in the English Socialist Literature. "Three of the Essays" says Mr. Beer, the German historian of English Socialism, "which Sydney Webb and Bernard Shaw contributed stand forth as masterpieces of Socialist thought and economic reasoning".† Apart from the Essayists, many brilliant men have been attached to the society, some all their life, the others at one time or another. It would be impossible here to enumerate all of them but it will not be out of place to mention a few of them. Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, Mrs. Pankhurst, Rt. Hon. Will Crooks, Mr. G. D. H. Cole were all Fabians. The association of Mr. H. G. Wells is interesting and somewhat important. He could not be long in the society without severely criticising its policy and creed and this gave rise to a well-known controversy. Even a short passage at arms between two brilliant and constructive brains like those of Shaw and Wells was sure to be of some importance and though the originators of the society ultimately came out victorious, the episode had its result in creating a breach in the unity of thought and aim of the society. Since then (1906) this breach has never completely disappeared, though Mr. Wells resigned in 1908. Efforts have been made by an active minority in the membership at various times to change the policy of the society without much success.‡

All Fabians are socialists but all socialists are not Fabians. Fabian Socialism is a type by itself, so much so that Mr. Beer in his "History of British Socialism" (to which I have referred above) gives a special chapter to it, while Mr. Ernest Barker

\*A History of British Socialism Vol. II pp. 288-289. (G. Bell and Sons.), 1921.

†The latest edition is of 1920 with a new introduction by Mr. Sydney Webb where he reviews the socialistic activity during the last thirty years, the period subsequent to the first publication of the essays. (p. XV. 233).

‡For a complete narrative of the whole controversy between Mr. Wells and his followers and the Early Fabians and their supporters, read, the chapter on "The Episode of Mr. Wells" (pp. 163 to 184) in the History of the Fabian Society by E. R. Pease who was Secretary of the Society for over 25 years. (A. C. Field, 1916).

discusses it at a great length in his short treatise on "Political thought from Spencer to To-day". Whatever one might urge against the creed of the Fabians one cannot deny that Fabianism has left its mark both on practical politics and the political and economic thought of the last thirty years. The difference between Fabianism and other forms of socialism is both of beliefs as well as of methods. There are several short and accurate accounts of Fabianism some critical, some explanatory, in some of the books I have referred to above and in two or three of the Fabian Tracts. I will here just refer to a few essential points which strike an outside student.

Fabians have sometimes been described by their opponents as "Arm Chair Socialists" and Fabianism as "Gas and Water Socialism". There is a good deal of truth in these quaintly phrased descriptions and they succeed to a certain extent in summing up the Fabian attitude. It is not a society of the workers in the ordinary sense of the term but of middle class intelligent men interested in and devoted to the study of some social problems. Their immediate aims therefore cannot be expected to be in any way utopian or their method revolutionary. In breaking away from Marx the Fabians once for ever repudiated the belief in the usefulness of class consciousness and class antagonism. Their aim no less than that of the other Labour Socialists was a complete exclusion of capitalism from the field of Industry and the independence of the workman from it but they wanted to bring it about by a gradual adoption of and pressure on the existing form of government or what they called the English democratic institutions. They neither desired to change or extend the nature of this democracy by the introduction of Referendum, Initiative, Plebiscite, etc., nor to change the whole nature of the state as the Guild Socialists or the Syndicalists advocate. Their favourite method of socialisation of industry and the elimination of capitalism was to begin by Municipalisation, the taking over of the various public services by the local authorities. Though the origin of the movement in favour of Municipal undertakings is not due in any way to the Fabians, which came about not as a result of any conscious theory or principle but as that of certain difficulties with monopolised

private undertakings, it cannot be denied that the Fabians did a great deal to advance it and bring more and more services under the local authorities as a result of their persistent pressure. It is in this connection that Fabianism earned the title of "Gas and Water Socialism".

Another favourite method of the Fabians in keeping with their belief in piece-meal achievements, is to take up from time to time any particular social need or problem that the public is just getting to be conscious of and to study it carefully in all its bearings by collecting all the available information about it. They then arrive at some conclusion about the definite policy for reform and by the aid of all the devices of propaganda try to arouse public interest and to make the information widespread as a result of which great pressure is brought to bear on the government of the day to undertake legislation on the lines suggested. They do not generally succeed in getting the whole of their demand but they are never too impatient to reject any part that they can secure. On the other hand where the initiative does not come from them but either from the government or others they study the proposals and formulate a definite attitude with regard to them. They then undertake to interpret them and to show their possible effects to the public and either help or hinder the passage of it through the National Legislature. Even at the last moment, everything seems to be going against them, they do not despair but try and get any amendments that they can either to lessen its evil effects or to increase its usefulness be it ever so little.

Now it is but natural that a society that works along this line, cannot form itself into a definite political party with a programme in antagonism to the other parties. They have naturally to be not only in touch with the other parties but try to be on friendly terms with them all in order to be able to influence them. Their main sympathies in this respect however were with the Liberal Party and some of its members were liberal members of Parliament. The Fabians never took part in elections as Fabians, nor were they required to support the candidates of any particular party. Recently, however, the Fabians with perhaps a few

exceptions have been in complete sympathy with the programme of the Labour Party and as a rule support and use all their influence for the Labour candidates. From this, however, I do not want the readers to conclude that they were at any time antagonistic to the Labour Party. Even as early as 1892, they tried to promote the idea of the formation of an independent Labour Party which can be seen from the two Tracts "A Fabian Election Manifesto" (1892) and "A Plan of Campaign for Labour" (1892). What I mean is that the identity of aim and work is becoming more and more pronounced and obvious now.

It is only to be expected that a society without any very rigid creed or procedure, would attract people of various tastes and interests. Its influence and work therefore have been in connection with many other branches of social progress apart from strictly political lines. Agriculture, Vital Statistics, National Birth Rate, Co-operative Movement, Education, Factory Legislation, Feeding of School Children, Housing, Poor Relief and Unemployment have all at one time or another come within the ken of Fabian work. It has had also an important share in the Feminist Movement. Some of the leaders of the Women's Political and Social Union were Fabians and most of the Fabian women were members of one or the other of the suffrage societies. Apart from the Vote, Fabians have from time to time tried to study various other problems arising in connection with women in industry, and domestic life. Amongst the several groups of the society, the most active and perhaps the most independent is the Fabian Women's Group which has already put forth considerable literature on questions specially affecting women.

The last in the order of our title is the Fabian Society and I shall conclude the paper by a very short account of it. To many it will certainly seem a strange order which is neither logical nor chronological. But my justification for adopting it is that it is the order of an average man's interest—persons, creed, institution. Having known the Fabians, one naturally wants to know what they are after and having known that, one likes to know of the organisation or the machinery through which they achieve it.

The origin of the society in 1883 was a very modest affair with a handful of members young in years and earnest in outlook. It had no office of its own but met turn by turn at one or other of the member's every fortnight. For several years it did not outgrow the drawing room. The few early members (including those who came in during the first few years) were all men of remarkable ability and ambition, just making a start in their careers and practically unknown. For a long time its attitude was exclusive and the admission was not a mere matter of applying and paying the fees. It came into greater prominence with the publication of the essays in 1890 and the membership began to increase. During a greater part of its history, almost till late, its policy has been formulated and controlled by the seven authors of these Essays, in spite of the thoroughly democratic constitution of the society, which means that these leaders succeeded in carrying a great majority of the members with them. The general control of the business is in the hands of an Executive Committee elected by the members, consisting at present of twenty-one. Mr. Sydney Webb has sat on the committee from 1886 (he joined the society in 1885) up to the present and has been returned at the head of the poll almost every year.

As to the basis to which every member has to agree before being admitted and which forms the creed of Fabianism in a nutshell, I cannot do better than reproduce it in full.

“The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganisation of society by the emancipation of land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in Land and of the consequent industrial appropriation, in the form of Rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soil and sites.

The society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can

conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly in the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community). Rent and interest will be added to the reward of labour and the idle class now living on the labour of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, *including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women*\*. It seeks to achieve these ends by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic ethical and political aspects".

The membership is open to anybody of age who agrees with this basis, without distinction of class, creed or sex. One characteristic feature of the rules for membership is that though the members are expected to contribute to the funds of the society, there is no fixed minimum. Everybody is to pay in accordance with his means. The society thus tries to adopt its Finance on socialistic principles. The offices of the society are at 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1., from which all the literature in stock can be obtained. It publishes a monthly journal of four pages called the "Fabian News" which serves solely for purposes of information regarding meetings, agenda, books or tracts published, etc., but it also contains as a rule short notices of new publications on socialism.

THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

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\*This clause was added in 1907 and was a bye-product of the controversy raised by Mr. Wells as a concession to certain women members who would otherwise have voted for Mr. Wells' resolutions.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF ROBERT BROWNING.

“Since Chaucer was alive and hale  
No man hath walked along our roads with step  
So active, so enquiring eye, or tongue  
So varied in discourse.”

—W. S. LANDOR.

There are but few poets in the “refined, speculative, complex, ‘Victorian Age,’ ” who can stand comparison with Robert Browning in depth of thought, intensity of feeling, fervid piety, broad sympathy, cheery optimism, profound and faithful portrayal of men and women, and above all in passionate longing for Peace, “whose names are also rapture, power, clear sight, and love.” The history of the XIXth Century English Literature hardly presents a single case in which a great poet has not left in his works the impress of his clear and brilliant originality. The *sensuous* Keats substantialises beauty which to him, is the touchstone of truth and is “a joy for ever.” The *ethereal* Shelley denounces the utter hollowness and hypocrisy of the world and the relentless injustice of the *Odium Theologium* and idealises liberty in his rich and classic imagination. The *passionate* Byron throws a dazzling light upon the sad effects of the revolt of self against the soul. The *chivalrous* Scott gives a fresh lease of life to the romantic system of knight-hood during the Middle Ages. The *benignant* Wordsworth is full of sympathy of a reflective and ethical order with Nature, draws rich and abundant food for moral aspiration from the flowers of her meadows and moors and philosophises on the phenomena around him. The *visionary* Coleridge proclaims the majesty and sanctity of the infinite and considers God the creator not as a force acting upon Nature and remaining external to it, but as communicating His being to all created objects and infusing His soul into them. The *loving* Tennyson catches hold of love and throws its silken chains around admiration and hope—elements that go to make the most of life. Each of these poets “who sail in long procession, calm and beautiful, has thus his distinct

message to the world. But Browning strikes out a path for himself through the amaranthine groves of hope and his message affords a safe haven of rest to tempest-tossed souls.

Browning boldly takes his stand on the summit of a hill and surveys the whole world with keen poetic eyes and true poetic rapture. He is not a little affected by the rattle and roar of this work-a-day world, the wild and elemental struggle for existence. This struggle stirs up the beast within us and spoils our moral nature by making us over-selfish, envious, callous and captious. Browning feels grieved at this sharp conflict between the cosmic and ethical processes and he exclaims thus in his—*The Ring and the Book* :—

“I can believe this dread machinery  
Of sin and sorrow, would confound me else,  
Devised—all pain, at most expenditure  
Of pain by who devised pain—to evolve  
By new machinery in counterpart,  
The moral qualities of man—how else?  
To make him love in turn, and be beloved,  
Creature and self-sacrificing too,  
And thus eventually God-like.”

Browning does not stop with the statement of this struggle. He strongly feels that the smiling glories of nature, the ennobling effect and example of heroic thoughts and deeds, the burning zeal of the patriot, the all-absorbing piety of the devotee, the unswerving allegiance of the loyalist, the soul-stirring strains of music, the beauties of the glowing canvas, the life-like and almost breathing products of the well-used chisel, the splendid achievements of the patient inventor, the explorer and the philosopher, the triumphs of well-planned and well-directed education, the melting sympathy of the tender-hearted—these have no effect upon the over-selfish man. He feels that the sole object in life of the over-selfish man is aggrandisement, self-exaltation and advantage over every person he meets with. He also feels that a man of such sordid and grossly materialistic motives is a monster in creation, as his ways run counter to those of God who is the fountain of mercy and love. Browning

whose humanity is that of a bright, unsullied poet, treats the world's malady with a fine seriousness by administering proper and adequate remedies from his moral therapeutics. Away with competition and all the evils bound up with that ghastly name! The law of love alone should guide us, inspire us, animate us and sweeten the right and proper discipline of life. "True life," says Browning, "is only love, love only bliss." Love is the very warp and woof of the garment of the Universe in which we live, move and have our being. It is the fulfilling of the law. It is the steam of the social machine. It is "the one and only buckler against misfortune." Compared with its weight and durability, the pride and panoply of temporal power are as nothing. It is the force which impels man to enfranchise himself from the thraldom of selfishness, and to rise to those spiritual heights whose outline and form the human soul discerns. Indeed, as Thomas A. Kempis says:—

"Love watcheth, and sleeping slumbereth not,  
When weary, it is not tired;  
When frightened, it is not disturbed;  
When straightened, it is not constrained,  
But like a vivid flame and a burning torch,  
It mounteth ever upwards;  
And securely passeth through all.  
Whosoever loveth knoweth the cry of the voice."

Such being the paramount and pervasive influence of love it is supremely fit and proper that Browning recommends it as the cure for all the evils which burden and afflict humanity.

Browning does not take a bread and butter view of life. Sir Toby Belch, in *Twelfth Night* inquires, "Do not our lives consist of the four elements"? "Faith, so they say," replies Sir Andrew Aguecheek, "but I think it rather consists of eating and drinking." Browning unhesitatingly brushes aside such monstrous and fantastic worldliness and wrathfully exclaims thus in his *Rabbi Ben Ezra*:—

"Poor vaunt of life indeed,  
Were man but formed to feed  
On joy, to solely seek and find and feast:

Such feasting ended, then  
 As sure an end to men ;  
 Irks care the crop-full bird? Frets doubt the maw-crammed beast?  
 Rejoice we are allied  
 To that which doth provide  
 And not partake, effect and not receive !  
 A spark disturbs our clod ;  
 Nearer we hold of God  
 Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe.”

It thus behoves man to do something that would raise his soul above the common ruck of human emmets which make of the earth “the merest ant-hill whereon to eat and breed and die.” It also behoves him to see that it is a womb where life renews its being and comes to light in other forms. There is in every human soul a confirmed craving for religious thought which serves as a strong basis for building our faith in a life to come. Tennyson refers to “this heat of inward evidence” as the best and surest proof of man’s immortality. And this inner conviction that “life is not a dreary march to the dreaded grave” was to Browning an anchor of the soul—sure and steadfast.

Closely allied to love is service. Service of humanity is our right, our Dharma. And this ideal, according to Browning, is to be conceived and carried out in a spirit of sympathy, of love for the universal. Sympathy breathed in his breath ; it glowed in his enthusiasm ; it burnt in his soul ; and it brought a rare and solemn refreshment to his mind. In his *Glove and James Lee*, his love and sympathy surge up from the hidden fountains of his heart. He passionately loved to rub shoulders with the common people and like his own poet who walked up and down Valladolid.

“He walked and tapped the pavements with his cane,  
 Scenting the world, looking it full in the face.”

And as Francis of Assissi felt in his ‘Catholic wholeness’ that all things, not beasts and birds alone, but the very flowers and water, were his brothers and sisters ; as Wordsworth felt stirred by “the meanest flower that blows” ; as (coming nearer home) Rabindranath Tagore finds unspeakable joy in the

company of "the myriads of human beings that inhabit this globe of ours;" Browning too, was animated by a dogged and dominating love for things, both great and small. Even the meanest of God's creatures have their sanctity and significance and are not to be despised or trampled under foot. Browning says :—

"Flesh and bone and nerve that make  
The poorest coarsest human hand  
An object worthy to be scanned  
A whole life long for their sole sake."

It is the constant vibration of this idea that infuses a fresh soul of harmony into his poems.

Browning has absolute faith in the free activity of the will. His is not a debased fatalism. His is a philosophy which refreshes our minds and stimulates us to action. It should be remembered that, according to the poet, it is not what we *would* but what we *can* that should determine our actual efforts. In other words, unseaworthy ideals are to be jettisoned. In *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, he says :—

"The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,  
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life  
Provided it could be,—but finding first  
What may be, then find how to make it fair  
Up to our means: a very different thing."

Browning teaches us the paramount necessity to steady our minds before setting them in motion, to cry *respice finem* and occasional halt to our springs of action and above all, to pay particular attention to the start we intend to give ourselves in life. This start is like the first stroke in a battle. There are few who do not know that, before drawing up a bucket let down into a well, they must first steady it, lest its initial oscillations grow into uncontrollable perambulations which cause violent knocks to it, against the sides of the well. The neglect of this simple precaution leads not only to a considerable portion of its contents being jerked off, but also to serious damage to the bucket itself. This small illustration is enough to teach us the noble lesson of Browning. To steady the mind is to give

predominance to reason above emotion, to merge minor in major wants and to enter into no quarrels. Browning also emphasises the beauty and dignity of failure in a noble cause. It may be that, in fulfilling our life-purpose, clouds thunder upon us, storms break upon us. But, says Browning, behind all these disturbing elements, there are the steady rays of the sun. Failures may depress us, may generate in us pessimism. But as *men* we must realise and combat the danger of pessimism which paralyses all hope and poisons the springs of our energy. Life succeeds in that it seems to fail. We must realise that there is no crown without the cross, no palm without dust and that only through thorn-set ways men reach the stars. For, asks Browning, in *Abt Volger*,

"What is our failure here but a triumph's evidence  
For the fulness of the days? Have we withered or agonised?  
Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing might  
issue thence?  
Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should  
be prized?"

We may notice here that Browning judges the value of our earthly career solely by its spiritual results.

"There is no duty patent in the world  
Like trying to be good and true oneself  
Leaving the shows of things to the Lord of Show.....  
.....no other land  
By which to judge life, failure or success,  
What folks call being saved or cast away."

Browning's message to humanity is thus the message of hope, of healthy optimism which braces us up and animates us to

"Welcome each rebuff  
That turns earth's smoothness rough,  
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!  
Be our joys three parts pain!  
Strive and hold cheap the strain;  
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!"

Browning himself has summed up his life in the following beautiful and pregnant lines :—

“One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,  
Never doubted clouds would break;  
Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,  
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake”.

Thus inspired, we may march bravely forward and battle to realise the poet’s glorious vision of humanity. Writes Browning :—

“Nor shall I deem man’s object served, his end  
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,  
While only here and there a star dispels  
The darkness, here and there a towering mind  
Overlooks its prostrate fellows. When the host  
Is out at once to the despair of night,  
When all mankind alike is perfected,  
Equal in full-blown powers, then, not till then,  
I say, begins man’s general infancy.”

The poems of Browning teem with thoughts—‘thoughts that shake mankind.’ They are a veritable mine of ethical lessons—of ‘jewels that sparkle for ever on the stretched fore-finger of all time’. In expounding these lofty ethical lessons, Browning sometimes employs artistic devices which do not fail of their effect. Image comes on image with an agreeable consistency, as perfect music set in noble words; picture follows picture with little short of the production of exquisite raptures and to the enrichment of the literary legacy of the world. In his rapt moods, Browning seizes the particular aspect of a thing and gives it such a quick life and forcible impulse that too much stress cannot be laid on the profound and sublime nature of his ideas and expressions. His poems thus disclose his large and lucid vision of life. The philosophy of life which, like a gold string, runs through the beautiful garland of his poems, is calculated to produce certain as well as pure gratification and to bring the full-toned diapason of life to its perfect harmony. As we read

his poems, we feel we are in the presence of a master-mind of considerable inner strength and vision. Life passes into us from every pore of his mind. We feel his light. We are *enlightened*.

“From Shelley’s dazzling glow or thunderous haze,  
From Byron’s tempest-anger, tempest-mirth,  
Men turned to thee and found—not blash and blaze,  
Tumult of tottering heavens, but *peace* on earth.”

P. ANANTHASWAMY.

## CATTLE PROTECTION.

### MUSLIM POINT OF VIEW.

It will be admitted on all hands that on economic, humanitarian and physical considerations cattle should not be sacrificed. It is also common knowledge that the tenets of Hindu and some other religions require that cattle should be looked upon with the greatest amount of respect and veneration. It will then become common ground that political expediency and neighbourly fellow-feeling require that in order to maintain unity peace and harmony in the land the two communities, the Muslim and Christian, should respect the feelings of more than three-fourths of their countrymen and not sacrifice cattle if by their abstention they do not contravene any of their religious principles. Christianity, it is perfectly well known, is completely indifferent to the question of cow sacrifice and a Christian is at perfect liberty to take or reject beef. With the Mohammedans, however, this is not the case. On the one hand there is a doubt lurking in the minds of a few that their religion enjoins upon them to sacrifice cattle at least on certain specified occasions and on the other the various religious and political associations of the Musalmans have begun to pass resolutions condemning cow sacrifice and beseeching their caste-fellows to abstain from it. The political leaders have combined with the *Ulemas* to issue appeals in their individual and representative capacity disapproving of the practice. In the course of a *Fatwa* issued by the universally respected *Ulemas* of Farangi-mahal it is said that "cow sacrifice is not proper and one who abstains from it will not be guilty of any sin." The present writer has, along with the other *Ulemas*, come to the conclusion that no injunction recommending cow sacrifice can be found anywhere in the sacred books and though the Muslim religion does not explicitly prohibit it and may even allow it on certain emergencies, yet it does not look upon it with favour and discourages it in the most unambiguous language. With a view to elucidate the above it is proposed to point out a few theological precepts and instances and also to give a brief histori-

cal *resume* of the actions which the Muslim rulers thought fit to adopt.

At the outset we are confronted with the difficulty that there is no clear precept or instance which gives a straight answer to the question and we have to arrive at a proper conclusion by a study of the various injunctions and anecdotes found scattered throughout the whole of the sacred scriptures. To begin with let us examine the cases where cow sacrifice is recommended or practised. The only instance where cow sacrifice is recommended in the holy Quran is the narration of an anecdote in chapter II entitled "Surat al Baqr" in which a man was murdered and his family members in an attempt to find out the murderer approached Hazrat Moosa (Moses) who told them under divine inspiration that if they sacrificed a cattle and placed a piece of his flesh on the mouth of the murdered, they will come to know of the name and particulars of the assassin. The following extract from Sale's translation of the Quran, will however show the great care, scruples, hesitation and reluctance which the kinsmen of the murdered revealed before they could be prevailed upon to sacrifice even one cattle.

"When Moses said unto his people, verily God commandeth you to sacrifice a cow, they answered dost thou make a jest of us. Moses said God forbid that I should be one of the foolish. They said pray for us unto thy Lord, that he would show us what cow it is. Moses answered, he said she is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer but of middle age between both. Do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. They said pray for us unto they Lord that what colour she is of. Moses answered, he said, she is a red cow, intensely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They said, pray for us unto thy Lord that he would further show us what cow it is for several cows with us are like one another and we if God please will be directed. Moses answered, he said, she is a cow not broken to plough the earth or water the field, a sound one, there is no blemish in her. They said now hast thou brought the truth. Then they sacrificed her, yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone."

From a perusal of the Hadis it is very pleasant to find that the prophet did not sacrifice even a single cattle *on his own behalf*.

Though one finds numerous instances where He is said to have sacrificed camels, yet it is mentioned only at one place that He sacrificed "either a cow or a camel". There is only one occasion where it is said that He had to sacrifice a cow on a particular occasion on *behalf of the ladies of his house* only at one time. He is reported to have asked the people to sacrifice a cow. There are numerous instances where he is described as taking the food of camels, sheep and goats, etc., but one does not come across even a single instance where He is reported to have taken beef.

If we turn to other portions of the Quran we find that the sacrifice of cattle is impliedly disparaged in other verses. In chapter 23 entitled Surat al Muminun we find that verse 22 lays down that "Ye have likewise an instruction in the Quadrupeds, we give you to drink of the milk which is in their bellies, and ye receive many advantages from them and of some of them do ye eat." This shows in the clearest possible language that He did not want that all kinds of animals should be killed indiscriminately. He wanted people to take instruction from every class of animal. This verse clearly disapproves of the slaughter of milch animals. There are some Divines who opine that their prophet has purposely refrained from explicitly prohibiting the slaughter of such animals as total prohibition might have indirectly led to their worship which is against the creed of Islam. It was meant that Muslims should regard the creation and existence of such animals as one of the benefactions of God and should feel obliged to him for that mercy and simply refrain from their slaughter out of regard for their personal advantage. This belief is supported by another *Hadis* according to which when Abdullah son of Umar was explaining the significance and origin of Id—the day of sacrifice—one of the audience interposed saying that if he has only one she-camel which gave him milk should he also sacrifice her, on which He (Abdullah) replied that he should not. Above all this *Hadis* clearly explains that a person need not sacrifice an animal if it is not to his advantage to do so. Again in Surat al Hahal it is laid down that "He hath likewise created the animals for you, from them ye have wherewith to keep yourselves warm and other advantages and (some) of them do ye also eat and they are likewise a credit unto you when ye drive

them home in the evening and when ye lead them forth to feed in the morning and they carry your burdens to a distant country.” This clearly implies that in the case of animals which provide wool or other comforts greater importance should be attached to those products rather than to their flesh. In chapter 40 entitled Surat al Mumin verse 79 we find it ordained “that is God who hath given you the quadrupeds that ye may ride on some of them and may eat of others of them.” Then again in chapter 36 entitled Surat al Yasin verses 71 & 72 it is asked :—“Do they not consider that we have created for them, among the things which our hands have wrought, cattle of several kinds of which they are possessors and that we have put the same in subjection under them. Some of them are for their riding and on some of them do they feed.” This distinction between the two classes of animals clearly signifies that it was meant that the animals which serve as beasts of burden and for riding should not be usually killed when the other class of animals are available. The sum total of all the verses seems to suggest that it was meant that the animals who are useful in one way or the other—whether by virtue of their supplying milk or serving for riding or as beasts of burden—should not be mixed up with the other class of animals which are comparatively of little good to humanity. Cattle naturally come under all these classes and it will be only following the wish of the prophet, if having regard to the advantages derived from them we refrain from their indiscriminate slaughter. This is not all, the *Hadis* lays down that the best sacrifice is of a Dumba. The mere fact that while one man should sacrifice one goat but not less than seven men may kill one head of cattle is in the writer’s opinion an indication that the sacrifice of cattle was not looked upon with favour. True this itself is one of the reasons why as many cattle have to be sacrificed. The poverty stricken people very often innocently argue that while they may not be able to provide one goat for each member of the family, may seven of them not together buy a cattle and jointly sacrifice it so as to be on par with the richer members of the community. Of course they cannot be expected to know—but it is up to the educated to tell them that their religion does not at all enjoin upon a man of low means to sacrifice *any* animal for it has been prescribed

that a man who has not got even 52 tolas of silver or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  tolas of gold over and above the necessities of life should refrain from sacrifice. Then again in chapter 22 of Al Quran entitled Surat al Hajj we find that verse 39 lays down that "their (sacrificed animal's) flesh is not accepted of God, neither their blood but your piety is accepted of him," so that it seems that the sacrifice of an animal pleases God only when it is an emblem of piety. He can never be interpreted to encourage cattle sacrifice when it leads to resentment on the part of the majority of our countrymen and when it is detrimental to our health wealth and prosperity.

The multifarious acts of the prophet also reveal the generous spirit of compromise which He evinced and the extent to which he was prepared to go in order to arrive at an honourable agreement which led to peace and avoided incessant strife. The practical politician who would advise a general abstinence from cattle sacrifice—if for no reason other than to win the good-will of his countrymen belonging to other faiths—is therefore quite within the limits of his religion and true follower in the footsteps of his prophet. We read in Sahi Bokhari that when the infidels of Mecca resisted the entry of the prophet a compromise was effected so as to prevent a deadly battle. When the terms of agreement were dictated by the prophet they refused to sign the deed unless the words "Rasul Allah" (prophet of God) as prefixed to the prophet were deleted. They (the infidels) contended that if they knew that He was the prophet of God they would not have opposed his entry into Mecca. They said they could only recognise him to be Muhammad son of Abdullah. The prophet thereupon rejoined that he was both, the prophet of God as well as the son of Abdullah. However as the infidels were unwilling to have those words the prophet commended Hazrat Ali to omit the words "Rasul Allah" and upon the latter's declining to do that the prophet took the deed into his own hands and removed the words "Rasul Allah" and substituted "Muhammad son of Abdullah" in their place. This anecdote along with several others of its kind found scattered in the sacred books illustrates the high value the prophet placed on compromise. In order to arrive at an honourable agreement he went as far enough to surrender the very words on the truth of which the whole of the Islamic faith is based.

If we could take some lesson from the attitude of Muslim rulers we would find that during the reign of the famous Khalifa Ibdokmulk the citizens of Iraq complained to their Governor Hijaj, son of Usuf, that their town was becoming desolate and unpopulated. After some enquiry and investigation the Governor came to the conclusion that the reason lay in the fact that the citizens used to eat beef and that the shortage of cattle was the immediate cause of that condition, and consequently he instantly issued orders to the effect that beef should not be taken. Coming nearer home we find that in his last injunctions to his son Humayun, the Moghal Emperor Babar told him that India was inhabited by people following different religions and therefore he should be completely free from religious bias and should particularly abstain from cow sacrifice as that practice will captivate the hearts of the Hindus and his subjects will feel grateful for royal obligations. Babar also advised his son to keep the temples and other places of worship sacred and to dispense justice in such a way that the people may remain satisfied with the king and *vice versa* because the sword of obligations was mightier than that of Zolum (repression). The famous poet Nar Hari led a deputation of cows (with a verse hanging from the neck of each) before Emperor Akbar and the latter at once forbade their slaughter. Dr. Bernier tells us that Emperor Jahangir had forbidden the slaughter of cows upon an appeal from Brahmans and because of the lack of cattle. He also tells us that the order was faithfully obeyed for several years. The religious priest of Emperor Mohammad Shah had issued a Fatwa (injunction) in the course of which he pointed out that the *Hadis* expressly forbid four things, *viz.*, felling of trees, selling of human beings, sacrificing of cattle and committing adultery. On the basis of this Fatwa the Emperor had issued a proclamation forbidding the slaughter of cattle. Shah Alam had also completely stopped the slaughter of cattle. Coming to more recent times we find that the Amir of Qabul, when he last visited India, had issued distinct orders that no cattle should be sacrificed when he prayed in the Jama-Musjid Delhi on the Id day. What is more the slaughter of cattle is prohibited even to this day within the domain of the Amir of Afghanistan.

All this augurs well for the India of to-morrow. The message of the political leaders and religious Ulemas is reaching the masses and when it has gone deep into the hearts of everyone of them any legislation prohibiting the slaughter of cattle will be as unnecessary for the Musalmans as it is at present for the Hindus.

#### LIGHT.

*N.B.*—The writer undertakes to meet every criticism offered on the above and to support his contentions. His version agrees with that of many Ulemas who have publicly expressed their opinions.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

### A POETICAL CAUSERIE.

**Nazir.**

*A Brief Sketch of his life with an Appreciation of his work.*

The one charge which is commonly brought against Urdu poets is that they have devoted too much attention to the erotic. With one or two glaring exceptions there are only a few who have touched on any other topic, and the reason for this is not far to seek.

Hindi is, no doubt, the progenitor of Urdu language and poetry but the influence of Persian over Urdu literature is too great to be ignored. Not a single Urdu poet worthy of the name can be said to be free from its contagion. In fact some of the head lights of Urdu poetry like Sauda and Ghalib commenced their career by writing verses in Persian. Even to this day one can hardly imagine an Urdu poet ignorant of Persian literature and philosophy, and it is because of this that Urdu poetry abounds with Persian similes and metaphors. Like his Persian brother the Urdu poet would always call himself a *bulbul*, even if he happens to know that the bird known as *bulbul* in India has never been heard singing; and his tears will always flow like the Euphrates and the Tigris and not like the Ganges and the Jumna. He always draws his inspiration from Persian and as Persian is full of erotic poetry it is no wonder that the Urdu poetry should also be dedicated to the worship of Venus and Bacchus.

Another reason why Urdu poets confined their art to the writing of *ghazals* and *qasidas*—the former in praise of their real or imaginary love and the latter in praise of their patrons—is that they depended for their subsistence chiefly on the bounty of some nobleman or prince whom they were in duty bound to humour. The simplest way to tickle his imagination lay in writing *qasidas*

in his praise or citing a love song before him\*. They could, therefore hardly find time to deal with any other topic.

Like his brother poets, Shaikh Wali Mohammad Nazir also could not claim himself to be free from the influence of Persian, but he is the solitary figure who stands to refute the charge of the lack of originality in Urdu literature. He flourished in Agra about the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century when Akbar's capital had ceased to be the resort of the great dignitaries of the Empire and the Moghal power was waning.

*Ab Agre men Jitne hain sab log hain tabah.*

*Ata nazar kisika nahin ek din nibah.*

*Yan tak amirzade sipahi hue tabah.*

*Jitne jilo men chalte the hathi o ghore ah*

*Woh daurte hain aur ke pakre shikarband.*

(Now the people of Agra are in state of misery

It seems difficult for them to pull on with their lives even for a single day.

The rich and the soldiers have been ruined to such an extent.

That those who used to be escorted by horses and elephants  
Are seen escorting others.)

Some writers however, think that he was a contemporary of Tulsidas, Kabir and Surdas. With deference to them I must say that a poet of Akbar's days—however prophetic—cannot possibly write verses on the Taj or talk about Dara's gory platform.

He came of humble parents and was brought up in adversity. The vicissitudes of fortune imparted to him what Stevenson would call a "real education in life". He does not however, seem to have been a truant. In his early days as his works show he was master of more languages than one. He had eyes to see and common sense to draw inspirations from his observations. He was a poet of nature but unlike many European poets he did not

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\**Cf. A rebald king and court  
Bade him toil on to make them sport  
Demanded for their niggard pay  
But for their souls a looser lay.—Scott in the Marmion.*

require to go to "woodland's wild" for inspiration. He drew his inspirations direct from the incidents of everyday life.

*Ye barq abr men dekhe se yad ati hai.*

*Jhalak kisi ke dupatte men nauratan ki si.*

(When I see lightning flashing in the clouds I remember,  
The glamour of jewels beneath her scarf).

*Mai bhi hai mina bhi hai saghir bhi hai saqi nahin*

*Ji men ata hai laga den ag maikhane ko ham.*

(The goblet, the wine and the cup are all here but alas! the cupbearer is away.

The public house presents such a gloomy appearance that I sometimes think of applying fire to it.)

He painted human and not mute nature,

*Kaha ki ham nahin aneke yan to usne Nazir,*

*Kaha ki socho to kya apse tum ate ho.*

(When I said, I will not come here again. He said, Nazir, think, do you come of your own accord.)

*Kal shab-e-wasl men kya jald baji thin ghariyan,*

*Aj kya mar gaye gharial bajane wale.*

(How quickly did the clock strike hours last night when my love was with me. Are the bell-ringers dead to-day?)

His tears never flowed like cataracts but rained in torrents and flooded the streets with water.

*Rounga ake teri gali men agar main yar,*

*Pani hi pani hoga har ek ghar ke as pas.*

(If I come to thy lane O friend and weep, every passage around thy house will be flooded with water.)

Nazir wrote no *qasidas* in praise of dignitaries and we have only a limited number of his *ghazals* which, it is said, are not on the whole all that they should be. It is therefore no wonder that his contemporary poets who would judge each other's merits by their *ghazals* and who, in the words of Mr. Fallon would "strive to strain after words merely" and exult in painting the same hackney ideas in new colours, could not appreciate his genius. This however does not mean that Nazir could not write in that

style. The following line would be more than enough to show with what a marked success he has attempted it.

*Sahra men mere hal par koi bhi na roya,  
Gar phut ke roya to mere paon ka chhala.*

(No body wept over my affliction in the wilderness,  
If anybody did burst into tears it was the blister of my foot.)

His genius however, came into play in poems of different types. He has made verses of Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Persian and Arabic, rhyme together in a wonderfully coherent manner with peculiar aptness and combinations with all that they convey.

*Na tha malum ulfat men ki gam khana bhi hota hai  
Jigar ki bekali aur dilka ghabrana bhi hota hai.  
Sisakna ah karna ashk bhar lana bhi hota hai  
Taraapna lotna betab hojana bhi hota hai.  
Kafe afsos ko mal mal ke pachhtana bhi hota hai  
Kiye par apne phir api hi dukh pana bhi hota hai.  
Agar danistam az roze azal dage judai ra  
Nami kardam badil roshan chirage ashnai ra.  
Jo main aesa janti prit kiye dukh hoe  
Nagar dhondhora pit-ii prit na kijo koe.*

(I did not know that in love one has to writhe in agony, and to suffer from the restlessness of the mind and the palpitation of heart.

One has to sob, sigh and to shed tears  
That one has to be subject to violent convulsions.

That one has to wring his hands in sorrow and repent for his folly and that one has to suffer the painful consequences of one's own actions.

If I knew from eternity what the pangs of separation mean to a lover,  
I would never have lighted the lamp of love in my heart.

If I knew that love lands one in affliction

I would have proclaimed by the beat of drum in the city that no one should fall in love.)

His style is simple but vivid and attractive and his power of description marvellous. He is never at a loss for suitable words and phrases and has depicted the incidents of common life with a touch of levity and a flourish of slang worthy only of a great

master. Describing the slippery nature of the earth in the rains he says :—

*Chikni zamin pa yan tain kichar hai beshumar,  
 Kaisa hi hoshyar ho phisle hai ek bar  
 Naukar ka bas kuch usmen na aqa ka akhtiyar  
 Kuche gali men humne to dekha hai kitni bar  
 Aqa jo dagmagaya to naukar phisal para.  
 Kuche men koi aur koi bazar men gira  
 Koi gali men gir ke hai kichar men lot-a.  
 Raste ke bich paon kisi ka rapat gaya  
 Us sab jagah ke girne se aya jo bach bacha.  
 Woh apne ghar ke sahan men akar phisal para.*

(There is so much quag-mire on the smooth surface of the soil  
 That every one however cautious takes a false step once or twice  
 Neither the servant nor the master can help it.  
 In streets and lanes I have seen on numerous occasions,  
 That if the master began to stagger the servant slipped headlong,  
 One has fallen in the lane and another in the bazar,  
 Yet another has slipped in the street and is rolling in mud.  
 One took a false step in the way  
 And the one who could escape falling in all these places  
 Took a false step in the courtyard of his house)

He has also portrayed pathetic scenes with masterly strokes.

*Pukara qaside-ashk aj fauje gam ke hathon se  
 Hua a ta raj pahle shahr jan dilka nagar pichhe,  
 Suno main khunko apne sath le aya hun aur baqi  
 Chale ate hain uthte baithe lakhte=jigar pichhe.*

(The years came out like a messenger and cried ;  
 The forces of love at first  
 Pillaged the city of life and next laid waste the town of heart  
 See I have brought life blood with me  
 And the pieces of heart are following slowly on the road resting  
 when they are tired.)

At places his verses are no doubt tainted with Persian similes and metaphors but that is always in harmony with his majestic style.

*Nahin hawa men ye bu nafa-i-khatan ki si,  
 Lapat hai yeh to kisi zulf-i-purshikan ki si.*

(This is not the fragrance of the musk of Khotan which you find  
in the air,

This is the exhalation from my love's curls.)

To-day we know there is hardly any poet in Urdu or in English who has written verses on such a large variety of subjects. His verses in Persian and pure Hindi are also of the same standard both as regards sweetness and fluency and in fact some of his Hindi verses are more popular than the Urdu ones and this is probably one of the reasons why Hindi writers regard him primarily a Hindi poet.

*Birah ag tan men lagi jaran lage sab gat  
Nari chhuvat baid ke pare phaphola hath.  
Dil chahe dildar ko tan chahe aram  
Dubdha men dono gaye maya mili na Ram.*

(The fire of separation raised the whole body to a burning heat,  
So that when the physician felt the pulse his hand was blistered.  
My heart yearns for love and the body demands rest  
Being thus set on the horns of the dilemma I could secure neither  
worldly gain nor heavenly peace.)

Mr. Fallen thinks that "Nazir is the only true Hindustani poet from the European standard of poetry whose verses made their way to the people.....There is scarcely any indifferent line in all that Nazir has written and a very large proportion of what he has written is a study". "Nazir laid under contribution the treasures of the mother tongue. He has done in this matter what only kings like Chaucer and Shakespeare succeeded in doing.....and this is the poet who is quite unknown to European readers for native poets never deign to name him."

Nazir was a man of cosmopolitan views. He would sing the praise of Lord Krishna and Hindu gods in the same strain as that of Mahomed and Muslim saints. "In the broadest sense of the word he was greatly independent, philosophic and catholic."

*Zahir men sut wo Nand Jasoda ke ap the  
Warna woh api mai the aur api bap the  
Tum shahe dunya wa din ho ya Muhammad Mustafa,  
Sar garohi-Muslamin ho ya Muhammad Mustafa.*

(Apparently he (Krishna) was the son of Nand and Jasoda  
 But in fact He included in Himself the parents of mankind.  
 O Muhammad Mustafa, You are the ruler of the world both secular  
 and temporal.

O Muhammad Mustafa, You are the head of Muslims.)

His verses became so popular in his lifetime that even to this day hawkers, pedlars, and Musalman faqirs can be heard singing them in streets in Upper India and people quoting them freely in their private conversations.

Nazir had no greed for wealth and his lips were touched for higher considerations than money. "He was really the unworldly stoic so many pretend to be. He cared not for any of the gifts or accidents of fortune. Good fortune did not elevate him, ill fortune did not depress him."

*Zardar maldar ke mat phir tu as pas,  
 Mohtajgi se ap wo baitha hai ji udas.  
 Man bap yar dost jigar sab se ho niras  
 Hardam usi Karim ki rakh dil men apne as.*

(Do not hover round the rich man,  
 He is himself brooding over his poverty.  
 Do not expect anything from parents and friends  
 Rest all thy hopes in gracious God.)

He subsisted on private tuitions and for a long time he was tutor to a son of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao when the Peshwa was interned at Agra. One day, it is said, he gave away his whole month's salary to some one who appealed to him for help in his daughter's marriage. He was no vulgar sycophant or courtier. There is only one verse in all his works which can be interpreted to have been written in Peshwa's praise.

*Kafsh bardari se us mehr ki chamka hai Nazir  
 Warna kya khak thi us zarrae naqadr ki qadr.  
 (O Nazir! He has shown forth on account of bearing the shoes  
 of that Sun,  
 Otherwise who cared for that insignificant particle of dust.)*

If we take it to allude to the fact that Scindia who was originally one of Peshwa's domestics and had the charge of his shoes

among other duties, owed his rise to the incident that he was one day found by his master sleeping with his shoes in his bosom as the Peshwa came out after making his obedience to the king of the Mahrattas. Nazir was a poet of the people. People of Agra regarded him a dervish and they addressed him as Shah (Saint) Nazir—a designation by which he is known to this day.

*Ashiq kaho asir kaho Agre ka hai  
Mulla kaho dabir kaho Agre ka hai.  
Muflis kaho faqir kaho Agre ka hai,  
Shayar kaho Nazir kaho Agre ka hai.*

(Whether you call him a lover of God or an unworldly stoic, he belongs to Agra.

Whether you call him a theologian or a writer, he belongs to Agra  
Whether you call him a pauper or faqir he belongs to Agra,  
Whether you call him a poet or Nazir, he belongs to Agra.)

But a recluse as he was, Nazir could not help shedding tears over the ruin which the chaos and anarchy at the decline of the Mughal Empire had wrought in Agra.

*Hai abto kuchh sukhan ka mere karbar band  
Rahti hai taba soch men lail-o-nihar band,  
Darya sukhan ke fikr ka hai maujdar band,  
Ho kis tarah na munh men zaban bar bar band,  
Jab Agra ki khalq ka ho rozgar band.*

(Now a days my work of writing verses has stopped,  
My Muse is not working on account of sorrow,  
The surging sea of my poetry is quiet  
Why should the tongue not stop in the palate over and over again  
When the public of Agra have no means of livelihood.)

Nazir was a very famous professor of his time and he also ran a private school (*maktab*). But his school had also a special feature of its own. The scholars who attended it came from the ordinary ranks of life but as an Urdu writer rightly remarks “their imagination always soared high in ethereal regions”. It was here that Ghalib received the rudiments of his education and Asir (Nazir’s son) was trained as a poet. “Nazir”, he goes on to say “was really a reformer and the school which he founded will continue to impart instruction till the day of judgment”.

His teachings were based on Sufism assimilating the ideals of Epicurus, the speculations of the Gnostics and the principles of the Vedant philosophy. To him all the creation is but a "shadow show" and the world is not a thing to be relied on.

*Gul shor bagula ag dhuan and kichar pani mitti hai,  
Ham dekh chale is dunya ko yeh dhokhe ki si tatti hai.*

(There is nothing here except fire, smoke, mire, mud and water, tumult and confusion,  
I have seen this world, this is nothing but a camouflage.)

Love alone is real and eternal but beauty though transitory is yet an object of deep devotion and the meeting of lovers is more joysome than heaven.

*Aish kar khuban men ae dil shadmani phir kahan  
Shadmani gar rahi to zindgani phir kahan?  
Lazzatain Jinnat ke mevaun ki bahut hongi wahan  
Par yeh mithi galyan khuban ki khani phir kahan?*

(Enjoy the society of the fair, O heart, You will not get these joys again

Even if you get these joys, it would be after death.  
You will get various heavenly fruits to taste,  
But you will not be able to enjoy the sweet flirtations of the fair).

But he is an active lover and does not like to remain in a state of perpetual despondency or inactive trance like Hafiz or Omar Khayyam.

*Woh apse rutha nahn manne ka Nazir ah  
Kya dekhe hai chal paon par aur usko mana la.*

(He is angry with you, alas, O Nazir ! He will not forgive you  
What are you waiting for? Go, fall at his feet and reconcile him.)

His genius embraced all humanity as he could know in his age and he had only bitterness and sneers for phrases of piety.

*Jinnat ke liye sheikh jo karta hai ibadat  
Jab gaur se dekha use mazdur ki sujhi.*

(The sheikh worships God for the sake of Heaven  
When I gave a serious thought to his action, I found that he was nothing more than a common labourer.)

Nazir lived in Mohalla Tajganj and had a small mare given to him by the ex-Peshwa—on which he used to visit his friends and callers usually followed by a host of street urchins with whom he seems to have been a great favourite and at whose instance he is said to have composed a number of poems. He died about 1820 at an advanced age of eighty years and an annual fair used to be held at his tomb about the time of Holi festival, till recently, on the anniversary of his death.

RAGHURAJ KISHOR.

## THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.\*

### MARMADUKE PICKTHALL—THE NOVELIEST.

Caps off to Marmaduke Pickthall! His latest novel—the *Early Hours* is a triumph of literary art. Not suffering from excessive mechanism of plot construction and overexuberance and sentiments, it represents the real Muslim life in agitated times. A Musalman is not a firebrand, a religious fanatic or a blood-hunter. Mr. Pickthall's is not an *apologia* but a clear and concrete presentation of 'actual realities' and he has more than succeeded in winning over the hearts of his readers by disillusioning them of the old pet mistaken notions. He believes—as he has a right and reasons to—in the innate essential good nature of man as a 'being'; as such a Musalman is as good as any other religionist. This cosmopolitan outlook born of study and understanding of comparative religions, Marmaduke uses to his advantage. Though the book is mostly a historical outline of pre and post revolutionary epoch in Turkey, it is not an account, dull, dead and cold. It is Past, made Present with the author's capacity of intense identification with the events. "We feel it is history in domestic life, and domestic life in history." It is a psychological estimate of the growing religious and national fervour of the Turks. The passion for the All-Merciful Allah, and that of the betterment of the nation are two parallel streams running *paripassu*. They meet only to increase the rapidity of the flow and separate again. We feel when we close the book that we are getting out of a smooth, all the same, rigidly religious ordeal. It is an experience of 'passion spent'; a belief that all is well in the world or an intense optimism, that we are entering the promised land is our tragic though sublime satisfaction. Who will not rise and cry like Ferid :

"I am a believer, henceforth I am a Muslim and a Venic Turk". As the Koja replied "it is Allah's will. You are reformed. But conduct only is the test."—.

As the title of the book suggests it is only a part and not

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\**The Early Hours* by M. Pickthall : W. Collins Sons & Co., London.

a finished whole. It is only the early hours and verily the latter portion shall be better. Camruddin, a Macedonian peasant-soldier starts on a tour to see his patron Sudik Pasha who promised him some preferment if both survive the war. The Pasha remembers the old comrade of the field and gives one of his slaves Gulranneh in marriage. Believing with others in *Jehad* as the only way out of the Turkish despotism, he joins the band of revolutionists, goes to Resna on a dangerous mission, takes a prominent part in the capture of Osman Pasha. On his return to Stambul, he gets a job in the Ministry of War. Abdul Hamid is deposed and Shevket Pasha is placed instead. This political change of parties leads to the estrangement of Gulranneh from Camruddin as two belong to different sections. But it is made up by the kindly advice given by Gulrannah's brother and Sadik Pasha. When Camruddin again goes to Chatolja, Greek invaders disturb the peace of Macedonia and Gulranneh to save her chastity stabs herself and dies. Camruddin takes Resdieh for a second wife as the latter's husband is dead. Immediately after this silent marriage there is the assassination of Shevket Pasha. Camruddin believes that destruction by injustice will be the signal for the great revival of Islam !

This close of the novel does not suggest that the history of Camruddin ends here. It leads us to another page in his life. One believes that Pickthall has still in store another volume, say the 'Later Hours'.

It was not long ago that a professor wrote in the columns of a leading Indian monthly that professedly literary men when they enter politics do a piece of disservice to the nation. Without discussing the issues that rise out of this general statement, one has good reasons to believe that to Pickthall novel-writing is a more congenial occupation—a welcome one too so far as the public is concerned—than the hot and rather excited editorial chair of the *Bombay Chronicle*. As a literary artist he can claim very easily a high place for suggestiveness, a pleasing and sympathetic understanding of the human mentality. A more happy combination of the religiously inclined and equally passionate husband than Camruddin can hardly be formed. He is not the sentimentalist ready to waive his opinions—for that matter anything—at the

altar of the domestic goddess. If it is Allah's wish, he should suffer for a righteous cause, why should he not suffer also from the slight misunderstanding from his beloved partner too? His views are there; why any vindication? If Gulranneh mistakes and leaves him, let her. If she returns, let her again. It is no compromise, no glib smoothening, no meaningless play of words. What he claims for himself he gives to his wife. Gulranneh is essentially a twentieth century girl. She is not going to be a slave of her husband even for ordinary political opinions. She may be faulty, may be in the wrong, but she always exhibits the courage of conviction born really of liberty of thought, breeding and domestic independence. Her later submission is not out of fear, but again out of her change in conviction.

The second wife of Camruddin is another interesting figure in the novel. Her approach to Camruddin when he is downcast, her offer of marriage are most finely imagined with true artistic sobriety. The meeting of the Patron and the old comrade in the early pages, the last but one chapter on the assassination of Shekhet Pasha, the lovers' controversy leading to the 'domestic cataclysm' are some of the best scenes in the book.

One word more. Beneath all the history of the wars, descriptions of the conspiracy, the one dominant note is the thought of Islam. Allah's will pervades and controls His followers. Whether it is in the marriage with the prospective conjugal felicity, or war with its impending horrors, or again the death of the dearest partner with all its miseries, the magic name of Allah and the thought of Islam act like a talisman and the afflicted or the happy become as great and firm as ever. Death has no fears for them, nor domestic life any charms. Everything is for Allah. The Bimbashi Alif Hikmet says that life which is not risked for Allah's sake is not that kind of life which can survive the grave. Camruddin talks of death as a 'friend'. The grief is not for them (who died) but their survivors. Again he says 'why should you be downcast, for we are not the end though we shall serve the end if Allah wills'. We are His. Let them will us—we shall return to Him! Pickthall's religious fervour is not fanaticism. It is sober, in place and emphatic. Not moralising, not pedantic, yet not colloquial, it has a grandeur which is all its own. He thinks,

he believes in what he thinks, and utters it like a humble though a firm servant of God. We cannot bid farewell to Pickthall better, than by quoting his own lines from *Coran* :

"By the *early hours* and by the night when it is darkest,  
 Thy Lord has not forsaken thee, nor does he hate thee.  
 And verily the latter portion shall be better for thee than the former,  
 And verily thy Lord shall give to thee and thou shalt know his favour."

E. S. SUNDA.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

### Recent Literature on Political Economy.

1. *British Finance During and After the War 1914-21.* Edited by A. W. Kirkaldy, M.A., B. Litt. (Oxford), (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., London) 1921.
2. *British Labour: Replacement & Reconciliation 1914-21.* Edited by A. W. Kirkaldy, M. A., B. Litt. (Oxford), (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., London), 1921.
3. *A History of Labour* by Gilbert Stone (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., London), 1921.
4. *Is Trade Unionism Sound?* by J. H. Bunting (Benn Brothers Limited, London), 1921.
5. *Introduction to Public Finance* by Carl C. Plehn, Ph.D., LL.D., Flood Professor of Finance in the University of California, (The Macmillan Company, New York), 1921.
6. *The Fundamental Principles of Taxation in the Light of Modern Developments* by Sir Josiah Stamp, K. B. E., D. Sc., (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1921.
7. *Taxation: Yesterday & Tomorrow* by Robert Jones, D. Sc. (Econ.) (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London) 1921.
8. *Elementary Economics* by Thomas Nixon Carver, Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University (Ginn and Company, Boston, U. S. A.) 1921.
9. *Money and Money's Worth* by F. V. Walters, with a Preface by

the Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M. P. (The Saint Catherine Press, London), 1921.

10. *The Economics of Reparation* by J. A. Hobson (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. London) 1921.

*British Finance During And After The War* forms the best conspective survey we have come across of certain of the prominent economic phases of war life in Great Britain. The book is the result of extensive and sympathetic understanding of the current problems, and with the imprimatur of the Section of Economics and Statistical Science of the British Association one can be sure of the facts and data being collocated in their correct perspective. Nothing is more important for a useful study of economic action than a dispassionate array of facts and figures as and when they happen and a sympathetic touch with the conditions that environed the events—in fact, the relative conjuncture. The Committee of the British Association under the distinguished chairmanship of Prof. W. R. Scott published four volumes of Reports during the period 1916-1920 and the present volume is a sort of informative commentary on the monetary chapters of these four reports, co-ordinated and brought up-to-date. The work of assimilation and review has been admirably done by Mr. A. H. Gibson, a well-known banking expert, who also contributes a brief and temperate criticism of the economic and financial policy of the Government. The most instructive chapters are those dealing with the course of commodity prices and with foreign exchange. The presentation of data is extremely lucid and there can be no greater praise than that the editors have forborne, despite varied temptations, from 'drawing any conclusions where the evidence has not been overwhelmingly complete. The appendices are not the least useful parts of the book.

A companion volume issued under the same aegis is *British Labour: Replacement and Reconciliation 1914-1921*. We have here presented to us the synthesised result of observation and experience of the great industrial upheaval caused by the war in the normal life of a British working class family. One cannot realise the full significance of the part played by British womanhood in replacing their men-comrades in the workshop and the factory without an industrious delving into the records of separate industries. Miss L. Grier and Miss A. Ashley here tell us the story, industry by industry—told piecemeal in the volumes issued during war-time—and it is an admirably proportioned tale of grit and stamina, of uphill fight against prejudice and indifference, of resolute perseverance. And the gain has all been to the industry for "improved industrial conditions, a higher

level of wages and standard of life, greater enterprise and adaptability, a new trade union spirit" betoken a new era for labour as well as for the country. The second part prepared by Mr. Kirkaldy deals with industrial relations. The problem of conflict between capital and labour as reflected in strikes and unrest during war time, and the measures attempted to cope with it are treated with sympathy and light of understanding. Mr. C. G. Renold presents a good survey in part III of *Workshop Committees*—the new revolt against orthodox Trade Unionism. The promise and failure of this development cannot be judged contemporaneously but Mr. Renold has been content with pointing the lines along which the greatest promise of success can be hoped for. We have not the least doubt that the mass of information collected in these two volumes will prove of "inestimable value, not only to contemporary investigators, but to economists, bankers, and social workers for many generations to come", as is indeed the claim made by the Editor. For a study of war-time England there can be no better guide than this well-adapted digest of the daily economic life of the people in those years of stress and strain.

Gilbert Stone's *History of Labour* is not a monumental work for it is not fired with the enthusiasm of genius that makes ideals virtually live. But it is not fair to the author to attribute this shortage in his retrospective vision to an inherent defect. He has attempted to sketch the past of the labouring man in the hope of discerning a principle of conduct and action in the future. Circumscribed by this perspective of practicality Mr. Stone does not attempt to rise beyond the characteristic reading of the ages of slavery and serfdom. He does indeed chastise the practice that bound a large mass of people into helpless dependence ; he denounces in no unmistakeable language the bestialities of the system that vitiated human relations from ancient Greek age down to times within living memory. Yet the progressive liberalism of Mr. Stone aims to build up the thesis of continuous betterment of the condition of the masses in each successive age ; and the fascination of his narrative at times deludes us into acceptance of the all-supervising deity of Evolution. The chief merit of *History of Labour* is the consistent stress laid on the evolutionary growth of human institutions ; it is at the same time its prominent defect. An undue leaning towards the doctrine of reducing each and sundry event in the life of the workingman by the common denominator of evolution occasionally blinds people to the presence of other equally intensive forces which govern human affairs. One can not however deny to Mr. Stone the virtue of

industry and faith. His patient labours in bringing into perspective shape the impacts of successive events on the life of the worker through the varied epochs ; his optimism in the future of the masses ; his belief in progress and betterment through reason and reason alone ;—these outstanding virtues mark the pages of his book. A select bibliography is appended. We heartily commend the book to all discerning students of Labour problems.

*Is Trade Unionism Sound?* by J. H. Bunting has the sub-title "A Suggestion for Outflanking the Power of Capital". Mr. Bunting is a respected ex-President of the British Trade Union Congress and it is no small surprise to find him frankly disputing the value of Trade Unions as effective instruments for fighting Capital. His considered opinion that 'any permanent increase in the real wage of the worker has been due to the operation of concurrent influences that have had little or no connection with Trade Unionism' would find favour with many keen critics of Labour movement. Mr. Bunting, it seems, with all his experience as a Labour leader, was not satisfied with crude Marxianism which forms the usual stock-in-trade of a workingman's economic pedagogy. But he is too much overgrown to feel the awkward edges which a study of classical economy reveals and consequently has unconsciously accepted the extreme logical deductions of the latter school which even its exponents feel constrained to qualify. To give an illustration, Mr. Bunting thinks that 'the simple fact of the workers being more willing to sell their service would be to increase the demand for the product of the service of others, and thus to increase employment, thereby lessening the degree of competitive pressure upon the workers'. The author here has omitted to notice that although the chain of logic may seem correct in its sequence at first sight, yet it is really vitiated by a sort of *petitio principii* in the argument. If all workers were willing to accept what they are offered with no reference to their requirements, there will be increased production no doubt and may possibly lead to increased employment but such a wholesale cheapening of standard involves concurrently an unhealthy reaction which will in the long run retard the progressive increase of employment and will finally increase, instead of *lessening* the degree of competitive pressure upon the workers. Mr. Bunting's analysis is a bold challenge to the labour ideals; a retrospective stock-taking is necessary ; to consider if, in the light of Mr. Bunting's proposals for the reconstruction of trade union basic methods, 'frontal attacks on Capital have not defeated their own ends'. We commend

Mr. Bunting's challenge to the organisers of the Trade Union movement in this country.

*Introduction to Public Finance* by Carl C. Plehn has long been a standard work on the subject and in the fourth edition the author has brought his valuable commentary up to date to include a new chapter on war finance. Professor Plehn is satisfied with the progress that has been made in the methods of public taxation since the book first appeared in 1896. In the light of such a record of momentous changes in government finance he has deemed advisable to incorporate his considered opinions on the new tendencies. But a regret may be expressed that he has not thought it necessary to substantiate the definiteness of his views by a full and complete argument. Opinions however mature and authoritative suffer from the rebuke of *ex cathedra* utterances if the mere authority of the writer be considered good enough for proof. It is possible however that Professor Plehn decided to ignore this factor as against overwhelming the reader of an introductory treatise with elaborate analysis. A supplementary volume or an enlarged fifth edition of the *Introduction* may rectify these omissions; as well as bring some of the data regarding National Debts and Revenue figures to date.

Sir Josiah Stamp has gathered his Newmarch Lectures delivered in the year 1919 under the auspices of the London University in his recent publication entitled *The Fundamental Principles of Taxation*. The title is, to a slight extent, a misnomer, for the argument does not start from the fundamentals of the problem. A running commentary on the famous four canons of Adam Smith leads the author to favour a subdivision of his thesis under three viewpoints:—the individual, the State and the Community. This arrangement in the author's exposition is termed 'new', but the discussion reveals that the orthodox canons have not been altogether forgotten. For the individual in his capacity of a taxpayer questions the equity of the impost, the State concentrates on "plucking the goose with as little squealing as possible", and the Community fights hard to maintain and improve economic health. It is interesting to read Sir Josiah Stamp's views on the change made in the year of account under the Indian Income Tax Act of 1922. The commercial interests have unanimously protested against the change under which the *average* method of assessing profits is replaced by the method of *previous* year profits without adjustment. This latter method prevails in America and the majority of witnesses before the recent Royal Commission in England pressed for this change, although we are told

that United States were seriously considering abandoning the previous year method for the average (English) method. Sir Josiah Stamp tells us that the average system "lessens the actual burden of tax because it lowers the rate of tax on a progressive scale. The duty chargeable upon £2000 per annum made in three successive years will be considerably less than that chargeable over the three years if the profits are £1000, £2000, and £3000 respectively. The truth is probably that an average more properly indicates the economic *ability* of well-to-do people"—a point in favour of the Bengal Chamber's protest—"but then we come into conflict with the canon of convenience". The author tries to be judiciously impartial—a habit derived from his experience as Revenue Commissioner—and consequently his conclusions suffer from the defect of indefiniteness. But Sir J. Stamp's method of treatment is extremely refreshing and the authority behind his arguments demands a careful attention to what he says. The analysis though advanced is thoroughly simple and directs the reader provocatively into a personal attitude. The author's considered views on death duties and capital levy touch issues that still remain unsettled. We commend the book to legislators and students interested in the financial problems of the country.

*Taxation: Yesterday & Tomorrow* by Dr. Jones provides a very readable text for the layman who comes to the subject for the first time. The book provides a concise summary of the development of taxation principles from the beginnings of the science of economics down to present times. Nothing is more remarkable than the fact that the canons propounded by the first great economist, Adam Smith, still provide to-day the starting point for theories and proposals as varied as Hobson's Unproductive Surplus Tax and Edgeworth-Marshall analysis of the Minimum Aggregate Sacrifice theory. Dr. Jones' narrative is concise and to the point. *Taxation: Yesterday & Tomorrow* will form a good introduction to the study of public finance.

If we were on the lookout for a suitable text for school readings in Political Economy we could not select a better book than T. N. Carver's *Elementary Economics*. Professor Carver is a distinguished American economist whose reputation has travelled beyond his own country. For sanity of expression and soundness of argument there could not be a better guide. He purposes in this admirable book 'to examine the economic foundations of our national welfare and to point out some of the simpler and more direct methods of strengthening these foundations, to the end that our

nation and all nations that aim at democracy and justice may prosper more and more'. Prof. Carver has attempted to seat himself on the school desk and appreciate the difficulties of the young scholar and the result is the extremely clear and lucid reading presented to us in this book. As is but meet controversial problems are scrupulously avoided and a general grounding in principles stressed and emphasised. The scope of the book is sufficiently wide to include chapters on the allied topics in civics and sociology. *Elementary Economics* is an ideal text book for the beginners.

Most of the recent literature on current economic problems is written under the shadow of war devastation and war penury. The need for increased production, however urgent it may seem, is being unduly stressed and in *Money and Money's Worth* Mr. F. Y. Walters has gone so far as to assert that 'the error in production is a far more serious and urgent problem than the error in distribution' at all times! But he has very many good things to say in an easy and homely style, and it will not be fair to quarrel with a writer who sincerely believes that we 'need not allow a few hundred plutocrats and a few thousand idle rich to hypnotise our reasoning powers', and after having said this proceeds to catechise labour for its obstinacy in refusing to work save under equitable standards. But the author did not intend to write an exhaustive treatise ; his aim is simple : he wishes the reader to grasp that in 'economics the best education is that which teaches us *how* to think rather than *what* to think'. In this aim Mr. Walters has succeeded, for his exposition is extremely lucid and his arguments clearly put.

*Economics of Reparation* is one of the few sober-minded critiques of the European economic conditions that we have come across. Mr. J. A. Hobson took upon himself the onerous task of presenting an aspect of the Versailles Treaty which is not at all palatable to the British or French Chauvinistic mind. Mr. Keynes' book gave the first shock to the smug hateur of the victors and Mr. Hobson follows Keynes in denouncing the economic stupidities and impracticabilities of the Treaty provisions. An exposure like this was necessary to show that the real motives behind the economic clauses of the Treaty were those of 'punitive justice and provision against the too rapid recovery of Germany's trade and commerce' How false such hopes have proved to be is apparent from the chaos and indescribable confusion in the economic world ; how senseless such motives of revenge are in their economic reaction Mr. Hobson brings out forcibly in his little booklet. The ruling mind of Europe is not yet convinced of

the utter hopelessness of ever being able to exact from the vanquished the pound of flesh and more. Fresh ultimatums leading to recurrent crises are handed to Germany every month. Time however will soon come to prove Mr. Hobson's well-argued contention that the only way in which any substantial reparation can be got is by adopting a 'policy expressly directed to restore Germany as soon and as completely as possible to the highest pitch of production and the fullest liberty of foreign trade'.

#### Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

Mr. Stephen McKenna is a novelist of good repute and for his reputation's sake one would have least expected him to show up as an improvised *raconteur*. The novelist draws his inspiration from characteristic portrayals of personality ; the writer of reminiscences needs a touch of careless *abandon* of style and a happy vein of leisured nothingness in order to be successful. *While I Remember* (Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1921) fails to be an achievement because the novelist has not been quite superseded by the narrator of one's life's incidents. One feels on occasions the sharp, chiselled stencils of a novelist's imagination where one expects instead the rounded, beautifully turned flourishes of happy-go-lucky intimacy. But *While I Remember* is not a book you could fail to take a delight in. Brilliantly written and full of verve and of picturesque phraseology it serves for a delicious douche on the cold memories of those who, like the author, lived through the passing away of the Victorian chivalry. The chapters on Christ Church and on the Fringe of War are particularly interesting because the author here lays aside for a moment his self-imposed mask of detached-ness and gives free play to his personalised imagination. His writing of the epitaph of Liberalism may not sound convincing for the data and conclusions are too vague and general ; but many people will be found to agree with Mr. McKenna that with the war a whole super-structure of social life and manners has passed away perhaps never to return.

Lieut.-Col. C. C. R. Murphy, for many years a well-known figure in Calcutta, is a distinguished soldier with a definitive turn of mind for keen and penetrating observation—a quality rarely met with amongst these hardy-headed warriors. His latest book *Soldiers of the Prophet* (John Hogg, London, 1921) is the result of his long experience in the old Vilayats of Turkey as an Intelligence Officer and as the Head of a Political Mission to Constantinople. He has not attempted to write a consecutive narrative of the Turkish Armies as the title might lead us to expect. His duties on

the Gulf left him enough leisure to contribute from time to time important articles both to English and Indian papers. In the present book he has gathered them together under one head. Lieut.-Col. Murphy has had access to some first-hand information about the Turkish Armies during wartime, and his detailed description of the disposition of the Turkish forces in Gallipoli tend to support his contention that the attack on the Peninsula was delayed too long and that when it was launched too much was expected from the Navy in the way of assistance to the landing forces. To soldiers and students of Military Organisation Col. Murphy's narratives of incidents in Mesopotamia and Persia prior to 1914 and the story of the march to Kut and its final surrender will prove of considerable interest. The author however is not a mere recorder; his description of historical places like the Temple of Baal is in the finest style and manner. Finally one must accede a tribute of praise to the author's courage in openly espousing the cause of the Turks, for while not blind to their defaults he has lived long enough in Turkey to learn to appreciate the virtues of that much-maligned race.

Expository additions are still being made to the literature of Indian Reforms, the two notable ones recently published being Professor B. K. Thakore's *Indian Administration to the Dawn of Responsible Government* (Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) and the Hon'ble Professor Kale's *The Reforms Explained* (Aryabhushan Press, Poona). The latter is a lucid exposition of the new constitutional Reforms and will be highly useful to those who desire to have a thorough grasp of the subject. Professor Thakore's book is more ambitious. It successfully attempts to cover the administrative history of British India from 1765 to 1920 and brings into prominent relief the striking legislative and constitutional landmarks in the political progress of the country since the dawn of British rule in the land. The author's clear and cogent narration of the events and incidents prior to the enactment of the Reform Act of 1919 are, however, meant but as an explanatory prelude to the last Statute which is fully expounded as constituting the first step towards the goal of responsible Government. The book is well-written, accurate and sound and will form an ideal text-book for the student.

*The General Map of Europe* ((Bartholomew & Sons, Ltd., Duncan Street, Edinburgh) showing as it does the boundaries of the various states according to the post-war treaties—is a most useful publication and should find a place in all libraries and offices, it being indispensable for reference.

Mr. M. K. Nadkarni's *Short History of Marathi Literature* is the first

book on the subject in English and for a pioneer work deserves credit and commendation. It is an excellent biographical and critical survey of the literature of Marathi from the earliest period down to the present day. Except Tukaram no other Marathi writer is known outside Maharashtra, and the work of Mr. Nadkarni (who has published it at Baroda) will go a long way in dispelling popular ignorance on the subject. The book is well-written and makes interesting reading.

Mr. Edwin Greaves' *Hindi Grammar* (Indian Press, Allahabad) is intended to supersede his earlier book on the same subject. It is practically a new work, rather than a new edition of the old one. Though not desirous of competing with Dr Kellogg's standard *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Mr. Greaves has offered the students of the subject a treatise which is comprehensive, systematic and sound and it will be found highly useful and instructive. It is neatly printed and well got-up ; our only regret being the long list of errata.

*Capital and Labour* by Walter Jones, J. P., M. I. Mech E. (P. S. King & Sons, London) is not a book on economic relationship of these two factors of production as the title signifies. It is a curiously disposed collation—extracts from speeches made by prominent party politicians and quotations from newspaper articles are interspersed with tabular statistics, aphorisms and definitions of economic terminology. But a sort of general aim runs through this inventory of assorted matter. Although Mr. Walter Jones sets upon his task with emphasis on the urgent need for spiritualising industry, yet he seems to cultivate the opinion that the onus rests upon the labouring classes: they are responsible for the mal-adjustment and should learn to show the way. The author's pet remedy for the ills of public finance is a single tax on incomes graduated according to ability to pay—a suggestion, which we are afraid, will meet with scant consideration to-day amongst the bankrupt Treasury Circles of the world. But Mr. Jones' views demand a careful consideration and he has presented his thesis in a clear and forcible manner. One is surprised to find, however, that the various estimates of National Wealth quoted on page 103 do not include Mr. Bowley's figures. The data given in other parts of the book also suffer from the defect of incompleteness and we hope in a second edition care will be taken to revise them and bring them up-to-date.

Canon Barnett's last book will always be cherished memory to the poor of Whitechapel in particular and to all social workers generally.

*Perils of Wealth and Poverty* by the late Canon Barnett, M.A., D.C.L. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1921) is not a book in the ordinary sense: it is a summation of a man's faith. Left incomplete, his talented wife placed the manuscript in the hands of Rev. V. A. Boyle, her husband's secretary and friend, who has filled in the gaps in the narrative by notes and quotations from Canon Barnett's writings. Living with the lowest poor, sharing their miseries and appreciating their distress Canon Barnett lived a useful life of noble work and in this his last message he confesses his passionate faith in the spiritual significance of life and urges with all the sincerity at his command the importance of bringing light and knowledge within the reach of the lowliest of the God's children. A book of inspiration well worth study by all social workers and reformers.

Of the type of sensational stories that hinge upon wheels within wheels of intrigue and accident Louise Heilgers' *The Green Heart* (Odhams Press, Ltd., London, 1921) is perhaps the boldest. One never hears of stage stars being made overnight, yet this feat is accomplished by Rupert Danvers, the unscrupulous moneylender, who brings Nancy Brooks, a slip of a girl, from the country and manages through a murder, stage-managed by the author, to make her the Queen of the footlights within a few weeks. These weeks also play an important role in disintegrating the boyish love of an heir for Nancy and transfusing in the staid heart of a colourless old maid the green flame of jealousy. The interest of the book is sustained till the very end by rounding difficult corners by turns that at times assume the nature of a catastrophe.

Sydney A. Moseley offers in *Haunts of the Gay East* (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1921) a lurid description of the night life in Cairo and other big towns in Eastern Europe. The author served on the editorial staff of an Egyptian paper and his queer method of patching up incident after incident betrays the sub-editor's fad for the press-cuttings file. Mr. Moseley has fortunately another obsession—the white man's prestige, by which he means the insistent need of camouflage for an Englishman in an alien country. He does not spare even the white men across the channel and the Greek, the Italian, the Austrian and even the French come in for his rebuke. Of course the fellahs do not count except as incidentals in Nature's background in the deserts of Egypt which extort a good word from him towards the end.

*The Book of Knowledge* (The Standard Literature Co., Calcutta) approaches very near the ideal of what a book should be according to a

writer who does not believe that an ideal book has ever been written—and this is high praise indeed. For up-to-dateness, for the wide range of subjects treated from the beginning of the world to the present day, for the simplicity and lucidity of the narrative, appreciated by every child and admired by the adult, for the excellence of the mechanical execution of the work, replete as it is with illustrations of an high order—there can hardly be any other book so comprehensive in scope and complete in its plan. For children a veritable storehouse of knowledge, for youths a book of delightful instruction, for adults a useful reference book.

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BY  
Sachchidananda Sinha.

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## FROM THE DESK.

### **The Pallava Painting.**

Mr. G. Jouveau-Durbreuilx, of Pondicherry, has sent me the following communication which will be read with great interest by students of archæology and history :—

“The Pallava sculpture and architecture are well-known ; but the Pallava painting is quite a new subject. Some traces of colour found at Mahabalipuram and at Mamandur gave room for suspicion that these monuments had been painted but these remains were quite insufficient to enable us to understand the art of Pallava painting. It is therefore with great pleasure that I now announce the discovery of fresco-painting in the Pallava rock-cut temple at Sittannavasal.

These paintings enable us to put forth the following two propositions :—

1. The process of Pallava painting is similar to those of the Ajanta paintings.
2. From an artistic point of view, the remains that we have are very remarkable. It would appear that the painting of the Pallavas was perhaps even more beautiful than their sculpture.

This is how the paintings at Sittannavasal were brought to my knowledge. In the course of the year 1918, I undertook, with the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row, a complete study of all

the rock-cut temples of Southern India. Sittannavasal figured in a list of villages that I sent to Mr. Gopinatha Row and I requested him to examine in the cave temple there. On the 27th January, 1919, Mr. Gopinatha Row wrote to me, "In accordance with the strongly expressed desire of yours to undertake the writing of a work on the South Indian rock-cut shrines, I took 20 days' privilege leave before Christmas with permission to suffix the Christmas holidays to it and visited the following places....." and about Sittannavasal and its paintings he said, "These paintings are perhaps as old as the shrine and are in fairly good state of preservation and need being copied fully." It is therefore certain that Mr. Gopinatha Row intended to return to Sittannavasal to make a complete study of it; but it is a pity that death has prevented my friend from realising his project. The discovery of Pallava paintings appeared to me to be so important that I resolved to go over to the spot and I did so on the 3rd January, 1920.

Sittannavasal is nine miles to the north-west of Pudukkottai and is situated in the midst of Pallava country, being only a few miles from Narttimalai, Malaiyadipatti, Kudumiyalai and Kunnandarkoil which contain the well-known inscriptions of the epoch of the Pallavas.

The architectural style of the rock-cut shrine at Sittannavasal is identical with that of Mamandur caves which we owe to Mahendravarman I, as is proved by the Mamandur inscription which praises the poetical and musical talents of this King. The Sittannavasal cave is a Jain temple; it has been cut by men who were the contemporaries, co-religionists and friends of Mahendravarman I, before he was converted by Appar.

This cave was at one time fully painted but only the upper parts of the edifice are now intact. So there remain the paintings on the ceilings, the capitals and the upper parts of the pillars.

The principal subject that is preserved is a grand fresco which adorns the whole extent of the ceiling of the verandah. The fresco represents a tank covered with lotus. In the midst of the flowers are found fishes, geese, buffaloes, elephants and three men who surely are Jains holding lotuses in their hands

The skin of two of these Jains is dark-red in colour and that of the third is bright-yellow. Their pose, their colouring and the sweetness of their countenance are indeed charming and I regret very much my inability to give photographs of them here. Unfortunately the red and yellow colours appear black in photographs and in this case these Jains are painted red, yellow and black and the photographs that I took with the greatest care have failed to give any satisfactory result. Besides it is very difficult to make a copy with the hand ; and it is almost impossible for anyone but a professional painter to reproduce a tableau without changing its expression. For my part it was impossible to make an exact copy of these paintings whose charms consist in the versatility of the design, the gradation of colouring with the half-tones and the light and shade. This subject of 'a Lotus tank' was probably a scene from the religious history of the Jains which I do not know.

The decoration on the capitals of the pillars in the facade is well-preserved : it consists of lotuses whose blooming stems intertwine with elegance.

The two pillars in the facade are adorned with the figures of dancing-girls. The one on the right side is not well-preserved but, luckily, the one on the left has escaped almost completely the ravages of man, rain and time. As this part of the monument is in full light, it was easy for me to make a tracing of it with transparent paper and thus obtain an almost perfect reproduction of it. This charming dancing-girl is a dévadâsi of the temple, for in the VII century, the Jains and the Buddhists had come to terms with God in regard to the introduction of dancing-girls into their austere religion.

The art of dancing was greatly honoured at the time of Mahendravarman I. A few months ago, my friend, Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar of Trivandram studied the Mamandur inscription with the aid of a few photographs that I had sent him. He was able to read in it the words : *nasahitvacha nrityavihitah*. It is therefore probable that the King Mahendravarman I was the author of a treatise on dancing.

In the same inscription Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar has found the words : *kradharanisvara varnnayapura tapuh kavigira*, and

elsewhere : kinchavividhahih kritvavarnam. Chandrarvanam Mahendra was thus the author of certain works on music which is an art inseparable from dancing.

In my work "the Pallavas" page 39, I have given it as my opinion that the Kudumiyamalai inscription referred to the musical talents of Mahendra.

I should add here that Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row when visiting the rock-cut temples of Pudukkottai State made the important discovery of a new musical inscription and wrote to me as follows :—Tirumayyam also contained a musical treatise similar to the Kudumiyamalai inscription. It was engraved on the wall of the Siva shrine (rock cut). A very late Pandya King has erased a major portion of the inscription stating that it is unintelligible script, and engraved thereon some useless inscription of his recording perhaps a gift of a few coins. The beggar did not know what serious damage he was doing to the invaluable inscription. The fragments that are available now read here and there :—Sha [dja], Gandhara, Dhaiva [ta]—terms of Indian music, written in the same characters of the Kudumiyamalai inscription.

Of the fine arts of the Pallava epoch, we have known the sculpture for a long time. We have to-day some information about the painting, the music and the dance.

The fresco paintings of Sittannavasal have now completed our knowledge of the civilisation of the Pallavas during the time of Mahendravarman I."

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#### Finances of India.

The gravamen of the charge against the financial policy of the Indian Government lies in an utter bankruptcy of ideals both in its manner of presentation and in the method of execution. One can sympathise with Sir Malcolm Hailey in his desperate penury and blame him not for want of a rarefied degree of inspiration or genius which alone could untangle the vicious maze of financial undergrowth. The outside layman does not know all the possible efforts he has made to meet the incessant claims on the central purse. But a conscientious man aware of the

deficiency in his moral stature and conscious of his failure to rise above mediocre levels would have forsook the dust of officialdom off his feet and hied himself to more moderate heights and to modester pursuits. Such is however not the way of Simla tin-gods. A suave sense of infallible virtue permeates their subconscious being and a stroke of error of mis-calculation never dares to intrude and spoil their self-satisfaction. And then it is all so easy. A faultless coat of complacency covers within its folds the latest armoury of defence which is a vapid *non possumus*. Sir Malcolm Hailey presented the first Reform Budget in 1921 in a clear-cut lucid confession of a dilemma. There was deficit. The expenditure items showed an excess of Rs. 19 crores over the expected revenue; ergo, sources of revenue must be enlarged and additional taxation for Rs. 19 crores was prayed for from a too pliant assembly which had gathered under the shadow of Council-boycott and social obloquy. The Budget for 1921-1922 expected a revenue of Rs. 128.3 crores and voted for an expenditure of Rs. 127.6 crores leaving a laudable surplus balance of Rs. 70 lacs to assuage the offended dignity of the Exchequer which was ruffled by the muffled whispers questioning its integrity or its sense of equitable proportion. At the end of the year 1921-22 the accounts revealed quite a different tale. The expected revenue had shrunk from Rs. 128.3 crores to Rs. 116.8 crores—the chief deficits occurring under the heads, Customs  $6\frac{1}{2}$  crores, Currency  $2\frac{1}{3}$  crores and Military  $2\frac{1}{3}$  crores. On the other hand expenditure showed an increase of 21.4 crores—the chief increase being in military services from the budgeted 66.3 crores to 88.2 crores! Out of the total expenditure of 149 crores, 88.2 crores or about 59.2% were consumed by the military services of the Crown! The surplus of Rs. 70 lacs has turned out to be a deficit of Rs. 32.2 crores—a matter of no mean concern for the Treasury, but the financial blunderbuss at Simla betrays no sign of crack—no, not even a spasmodic fit of distemper. The smug complacency of Olympian heights follows faithfully the Janitor of the money grants in the comparatively secluded Zenana of Delhi Chambers and when the disc of fortune turns another cycle we find the Finance Member ever suave and smiling though redolent of apathetic apologetics

and listlessly lame excuses—standing up without a noticeable bend and curtly talking of Manchester and logrolling, of silver and the freaks of exchange, of bad harvests and bad tempers. Money he must find for the inevitable expenditure on Railways and Telegraphs, on Mint and Irrigation, yes, for debt services and civil administration. Military services—he will budget for as much only as he did last year, only 67.7 crores out of the total expenditure of 142.4 crores; and he hopes, with the rest, that it will not jump, but if it does, well then he has no control, money will have to be found. But why talk of it? It is non-votable and the gentlemen of the Assembly will be wasting their precious breath if they are fool-hardy enough not to appreciate the value of security and order in the country. Who talked of Retrenchment?—You forget, messieurs, that charity begins at home and if the fluid flow of rhetorics and oratory were retrenched in this august Council Chamber we will be all so happy and contented ever afterwards. As leader of the house he will set the example and will cut short his ponderous yearly statement and leave more shadow where there was already darkness and gloom.

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#### Genoa.

Washington Conference by its inconsequent failure warned the peoples of this earth against faith in the Junta Conclaves that are becoming a recurring feature of Western diplomacy. Genoa is proving to be the grave of many a camouflaged ambition and it is futile to expect a second edition of the Washington catechism on Disarmament even if we notice there, gathered together, consummate politicians like Lloyd George and M. Barthou. It is not difficult to guess the alarmist flare-up signals that are shooting from Genoa side. People who have nothing to lose but everything to gain from a frank and open statement of policy are confronting the tortuous maze of European diplomacy that revels in secret ways and means and is intent on securing the most of the grab that it has secured from the vanquished. Russia faces France and Belgium, Britain and Italy and with consummate skill, which is another name for simplicity of design and of

policy, her representatives have outlined a scheme of adjustment which, fairness and equity demands, should meet with the approval of enlightened humanity. France proud of her narrow clericalism and conscious of the strategical strength of her military position will not listen to any compromise of her demands. She props up the little-Belgian in protest and swears to stand by her gallant ally. British Imperialism feeds on commerce and trade and its sense of security and advancement compels a recognition of the *status quo* in Russia. Lloyd George, the high priest of Opportunism, gets up by rote the detailed blessings of peace and humanity and in seeking to support the recognition of Russia aims to strike boldly for a favoured nation treatment in Russia's vast emporium. The bickerings and *tu quoques* between statesmen and journalists do not embolden us to predict any very happy or sanguine conclusions proceeding from Genoa confabulations. The pity of it is that expediency and political fortunes of the individual statesman of Europe play such an important role in making or marring the prospects of peace and prosperity of the common peoples of the world. The stupid idiocy of settlement by physical combat is no more nearer appreciation than it was in 1913. Light may still come from the East and Russia stands on the portals—a visible emblem of achieved ideals and of constant striving towards the evolution of a better and more rational scheme of human governance. Failures strew her path of recent progress but "he who striveth hath never lost."

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#### A Rolls Royce Administration.

In a provocative letter to the *Times* Sir Stanley Reed quotes the "wise maxim of Lord Cromer that in the Orient politics cannot be dissociated from finance, and the keystone of good government is low taxation." Although we are unable to appreciate the specific applicability of this maxim to the Orient alone, particularly when we see the financial bankruptcy of some of the *advanced* Western nations leading to political chaos and disintegration, as well as the impact of high taxation against the efficiency of Government, we must acknowledge the general truth

in Lord Cromer's remark. Has the Indian Government attempted to formulate its policy in conjunction with political entities? And has it successfully met the demand of the political India towards the democratisation of the financial outlook? One cannot honestly reply in the affirmative to any of these queries. The regulator spring of Indian Exchequer motives is the demand of the military services. There has always been an inverse mentality ruling the minds of the Finance Members, *viz.*, that revenue has got to be levelled up to expenditure and not the contrary maxim that the revenues of the country should bear an honest and humanitarian relation to the wealth of her citizens and that expenditure should follow on the basis of the receipts accruable in conformity with the above code. And the result in cost-values of this inverted policy of Indian Government has been in the words of Sir Stanley Reed, a "Rolls Royce administration in the land of the ox-cart."

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#### **Students and Health.**

The Students' Welfare Committee appointed by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University have submitted a report on a health examination scheme which they carried out in four of the Calcutta Colleges. The Report furnishes very interesting reading for the educationist in Bengal, as it pointedly directs attention to the poor vitality and defective capacity of the average Bengalee student. Various events have combined to throw mud on particular schemes of education, but it is usually forgotten that the results of an education process cannot be properly tested unless favourable conditions of exercise prevail. The sins of the particular defective environments under which the Bengalee student lives visit only too frequently upon the method of education followed by the University authorities. A powerful culture of a weak seedling amid enervating surroundings cannot bring forth a sturdy plant. The blame lies as much with the poor environments as with the inexpediency of using a particular culture recipe.

Of the 3405 students, examined by the Committee, it is shocking to learn that 2229 defect cards had to be issued, *i.e.*,

about 66% of the students were found possessed of one or the other peculiarities which medical opinion pronounces as "defective"—and this at an age when a man should be at the glory of his life! Some of the percentages shown in the report deserve careful attention and we cannot press too strongly the need of urgent enquiry and of reclamation measures. Youths form the flower of citizenship and if "two of every three young men require medical attention" the problem is immediate and needs drastic remedies.

WHIP.

## THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE MONEY CHANGERS OF MOSCOW.

Long rows of silent streets, lined with vacant, boarded-up shops and deserted buildings, useless alike for dwellings or Soviet Departments ; here and there a red sign and a waving flag, indicating some organization of the revolutionary government, perhaps a local Soviet, a "rayon" of the Communist Party, a Commissariat, School, Hospital or Co-operative ; in every block a queue of people waiting to receive their rations of food, clothing or supplies from some government distributing depot,—this was Moscow, Petrograd and every Russian city before the advent of the New Economic Policy. Upon the streets a thin line of hurrying figures, intent upon getting somewhere,—figures variously clad in all degrees of poverty up to barest decency, and stopping there, for in the early days of the Revolution, the fine feathers of the bourgeoisie never dared flaunt themselves upon the public streets. The thin line of passers-by thickened to a stream twice in every day,—in the morning, hurrying to work, and in the evening, hurrying home again. Almost everyone carried some kind of parcel, either slung across their backs or dragging along behind them on runners or on wheels, depending upon the time of year. Here and there a quaint relic of capitalism was to be seen in the shape of a shoebblack, an apple-woman or vendor of milk, but these were few and far between, mere desultory accessories of the new order, tolerated until they could be fitted into the social scheme of things where buying and selling had no part in daily life and work. There was no strong note of color or variety in these street scenes, where shabbiness and decency converged to a monotone of drab ; only the touch of red on military uniforms and caps, a red flag waving here and there, and a red sign upon some building relieved the unmitigated whiteness of the six month's snow and in summer, vied with the glint of gold and enamelled tile and mosaic that lightens up Russian architecture with a hint of Oriental charm. Less stern than Petrograd, Moscow, despite its picturesque

antiquity and quaint, mediaeval beauty, was up till March of 1921, indubitably a revolutionary city. One felt it in the stillness of the air, in the vacancy of the boarded up shops, in the unemotional figure of the Red Guard at every street crossing, gun slung on shoulder, whose functions combined those of a traffic policeman with the guardian of revolutionary order. It was the intense calm that follows, not precedes a storm, this unruffled serenity of beleaguered Moscow throughout the first three years of the Revolution.

But behind the stillness, the life of the people throbbed steadily. The Revolution was quietly clearing away the ruins of the old order and constructing new organs of government, new institutions for production and distribution, new forms of education, art and culture. To enter into one of the buildings which bore a red sign and a red flag was to plunge into a maelstrom of revolutionary energy and activity. Commissariats functioned feverishly; schools, hospitals, rest-houses, homes for mothers and children, summer colonies and experimental classes somehow managed to spring up in response to Soviet Decrees, and maintain their occupants; the Red Army fought on every front and was provisioned, notwithstanding the breakdown of transport, fuel and food; Trade Unions organized themselves, maintained newspapers and clubs, brought in new members, and joined in the campaign for increased production on the economic front; supplies were somehow brought to the great cities, and rationed cut with more or less fairness to all productive members of the community,—whatever speculation, illegal trafficking and profiteering escaped the vigilance of the authorities, remained underground. The starving workers of Russia were spared the sight common to bourgeois countries in the hard times during and after the war, of rich and idle spendthrifts living off the fat of the land while the mass of the people hungered; there were no shop-windows crammed with plenty to mock their gaze; there was the full consciousness that when there was nothing, everyone hungered and when there was something, that little was evenly distributed so that no one enjoyed superfluity while others starved. True, there were the categories, whereby the children, the sick and wounded, the red army, the responsible

workers and productive laborers were given preference to supplies in the order named ; little was left for the bourgeoisie and for the unemployed but herring soup, and none too much of that. But the workers and soldiers of Russia who had made the Revolution, themselves had voted for the categories to meet the starvation created by civil war, invasion and blockade, and they were satisfied. The highest Commissar of Russia received his monthly ration like the lowest worker as a responsible worker upon whose brainfunctioning depended the success of the Revolution in those perilous days ; perhaps he received two pounds instead of one pound of bread daily ; perhaps he was granted two rooms instead of one, to transact the affairs of state, but the difference between one pound of bread and two, one room and two, is neither profound nor irrevocable. A commissar could be made or unmade in a day ; a fellow-worker could be elevated on as short a notice to his high post. What remained fixed was that decree of the People's Government whereby every worker, upon display of card, was entitled to room, outfit and "pyok" (ration) ; the dwellings and supplies of the nation had been nationalized to provide him therewith. As a result, all those who did not hoard gold and jewels to exchange in the illegal bazaar for illegal food, sought work and found it ; there was plenty to be done in those hectic days when three armies hemmed in the workers' republic from without, when counter-revolution raised its hydra-head within ; when the work of reconstruction demanded each man's best, and foreign recognition of the Soviet Power was limited to the blockade of Russian ports and the financing of invading armies from abroad.

But since the Council of People's Commissars passed the decree authorizing the series of innovations known as the New Economic Policy, what a startling change in the aspect of this once-silent city. The bourgeoisie which, in spite of three and a half years of rigid Proletarian Dictatorship and revolutionary terror, had still surreptitiously raised its head, now crawled out into the open overnight, rejoicing in the change like worms in a sun-bath after rain. The long rows of boarded-up shops flung wide their windows to the passers-by,—windows miraculously dressed with every conceivable article of use and

luxury, unknown to the starving, blockaded Russia of post-revolutionary days. Each morning saw a new shop opened to keep its neighbour company, and each open shop added to the thickening stream of curious and wonderstruck humanity, whose starved eyes drank in the unwonted sight of heaped-up plenty just beyond their reach. Like rats, the crafty shopkeepers brought from their holes and hiding-places the loot hidden these three years and more from the peoples' need, and the underground smuggling from neighbouring states grew apace. The Decree said plainly that all export and import trade remained the exclusive monopoly of the Government; what was conceded was local trading and exchange of goods, to stimulate production and enable the peasant to get rid of the surplus now left to him after paying his tax-in-kind. The immediate and tangible results were first, the desired impetus given to crop and commodity production in field and factory; second, the undesired but inevitable recrudescence of the petty-bourgeoisie.

What kind of shops were they, these creatures of the New Economic Policy? In the first timid stages of resurrection, Free Trade was confined to what has aptly been called "pushcart competition". The vendors of shoe-strings, apples, cigarettes, milk and vegetables, who had always plied their casual trade on street-corners, tolerated by the old order which found itself unable to cope with these minutiae, now suddenly expanded into stalls, booths and kiosks,—peripatetic shopkeepers taking precarious root in the new soil of free trade and *laissez-faire*. These were but "nits breeding capitalist lice," in the terse aphorism of a Communist cynic. The pushcart entrepreneurs were succeeded with bewildering rapidity by a petty-bourgeois generation of cafe-proprietors, restaurant-keepers, grocers, butchers, bakers, milliners, coiffeuses, perfumerers and antique-dealers. These too, generated and were delivered of their own kind, on a more developed scale. "Capital begets Capital." Bigger fish, watching the rank growth of commerce, began to ask back their old locations from the Government on a concession basis. Great fruit and wine-stores allowed the public to feast their eyes if not their stomachs upon the exotic products of other climes, tropical and temperate, brought to the snows of a Moscow winter

to dazzle the imagination of the starving. Huge bakeries displayed endless vistas of white bread, buns and pastries to a populace inured for four years to bread inconceivably gritty and black. Silks, velvets and furbelows adorned the plate-glass fronts of big department-stores ; the latest mode in hats, lingerie, hosiery and perfumes became miraculously available to the women of the bourgeoisie, who suddenly reappeared upon the streets in throngs, walking, driving in elegant sleighs, wrapped in costly furs and flashing with jewels. One sees them shopping, going to theatres and filling the cafes, sipping coffee or liqueurs, smoking, and gorging themselves on platefuls of French pastry, or driving home with huge basketfuls of sweetmeats, worth hundreds of thousands of paper rubles. These are the wives and daughters of the newly-rich speculators, familiar to every country that participated in the war, but whose mushroom growth was arrested in Russia until now by the iron hand of the relentless Che-ka. Simultaneously with their appearance, came those twin births of Capitalism,—Prostitution and Beggary. Unemployment raised its ugly head with the putting of all institutions upon an efficiency basis, together with the disbanding of the Red Army. Money once more became the medium of exchange. Prostitution practised as a trade, which had almost ceased to exist throughout the first stages of the Revolution, Faunted itself in crowded restaurants and cafes and open solicitation upon the streets reappeared. Fourteen houses of prostitution were discovered by the Government and the owners punished, while a new decree was passed whereby any man found taking advantage of the hard economic situation of a woman to seduce her, could be imprisoned. The organization for work among women was given control over such cases, as well as the tracing down and closing of houses of prostitution. But those at the head of affairs recognize that the only effective remedy as well as the real cause of both prostitution and beggary is economic ; so long as any form of capitalism, even State Capitalism, exists, unemployment will co-exist and unemployment is the true breeder of these social ills.

But the New Economic Policy, superficially viewed, reaches its crescendo in the teeming market, one of the half-oriental relics

of old Russia which the Revolution never really killed but only made illegal, and which now thrives in all its pre-war luxuriance of trade and barter. Here a student of revolution can best study the psychology of that vast mass of Russian peasants and petty traders who never heard of Communism, and whose lives are bound up in the buying and selling of commodities. But their world has turned topsy-turvy; there are money and goods in abundance, but by what strange freak of circumstance do silver spoons and pitchers, exquisite jewelry and oriental rugs of priceless value, go for a song, while things that really matter in this life of stern realities,—food and clothing and furniture and cooking utensils, command their hundreds of millions of rubles? Lest the prices seem faneastic, go to the Russian 'Change', which flourishes under the blue sky and takes its firm footing on the curb-stones, and enquire into the daily dance of the ruble. Money goes down and prices up, like buckets in a well, and no one quite sees the limit at either end. But to one who never penetrated the mysteries of even sounder currency systems than the Russian one, the greatest marvel to wonder at is that mere rolls of paper money, however endlessly multiplied, which everyone knows is not backed by a gold-reserve, can actually buy real things; to see grown-up people selling good butter, or diamonds, as the case may be, for so many paper counters, is to witness a freakish perversion of the favorite game of every child. Well may the Communist Party of Russia laugh in its sleeve at these antics while it proceeds with the business of governing and rebuilding a new society; let the bourgeoisie play with its toys; so much the less time will it have to hatch counter-revolutionary plots! In much the same spirit did the Roman Caesers throw a Christian to the lions, to divert the rabble, while the Roman legions marched on.

But what has become of the Revolution? In the sudden reversion of the revolutionary order that had prevailed throughout the worst years of suffering and privation, all the ideals and principles of Communism in whose name the Revolution had been made and carried forward triumphantly, seemed to be going helter-skelter into the scrap-heap. Had the intrepid Bolshevik leaders reckoned without their host, when in the Spring of 1921

they sanctioned the inauguration of the New Economic Policy? To the casual traveller and press-correspondent, who have been introduced into Russia latterly along with other transient novelties, the present state of affairs spells the defeat of Bolshevism, and this they have proclaimed to the press of the outer world. But to the thoughtful resident, the still waters of the Revolution flow deeply on, beneath this superficial crust of capitalist excrescences. Those imperishable institutions of the Revolution,—the Soviets, the Red Army, the Trade Unions, the Schools, remain in the hands of the people who made the Revolution and who still look to the Communist vanguard to lead them through these troubled waters to green pastures beyond. The education of the masses proceeds with the same fierce energy with which it was begun four years ago; illiteracy in Russia is almost wiped out, while the political and social enlightenment of the people cannot be estimated in dry figures, but must be felt in their newly-awakened vigour. Foreign trade, banking and finance, and all the vital industries of Russia remain under Government control; transport, fuel, raw materials, land and factories are still in the hands of the community. Even the commerce and trade within the country is being guided and held in bounds by the network of co-operatives and Government trusts. The greatest shops along the Arbat and Tverskaya Boulevard belong, not to private individuals, but to the Moscow Soviet or one of the Commissariats; by means of huge chains of bakeries, grocery-stores, etc., supplied and controlled from government sources, the prices of commodities are kept in check and the proceeds netted go to the up-keep of some school, hospital, children's colony or to a further extension of shops. That which so flamboyantly displays itself is but the thin veneer on the life of the millions of Russian workers and peasants,—a veneer which existed to a degree far worse before the Revolution, and which went and came and will go again in a crisis, without affecting the deeper issues of economic and social life. The most vital reality in Russia to-day is the fact that the political state power remains in the hands of the Communist Party, supported by the peasants, the army and the trade-unions. In the words of that clear-sighted and practical prophet of world revolution,

Lenin, Russia must go through an era of State Capitalism as a transition period to Communism. The trustification of industry by the State is the most significant development in the new economic policy. By this erection of State Trusts, private enterprise remains subordinate to State control, while all key industries and vital necessities are in the hands of the Government apparatus. Efficiency and economy have become the watchwords of the hour; Russia must learn how to develop her industries by studying the methods of the bourgeoisie.

In the meantime, it is a race between the Communist principle on one hand, and the capitalist one on the other; between social ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the old ideas of private property and free competition in trade. The Revolution introduced and gave powerful impetus to the new ideas, paralyzing by a series of knock-out blows and rigid control the strong trading-instincts of the petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry, who form the overwhelming majority of the population. But war, blockade, counter-revolution and famine have to a certain extent, done their work; the failure of the world proletariat to respond to the call for help from their Russian fellow-workers left the new Soviet Power isolated in a vast world of hostile states; a strategic retreat in order to advance victoriously later, was the only recourse. The New Economic Policy was the challenge flung to the forces of reaction by the dauntless Russian leaders. "We have shown our enemies that we can make concessions, but we must also show them that there is a limit beyond which we shall not go," said Lenin in his address to the Ninth Congress of All-Russian Soviets. Released like a spring by the new decree, the spirit of barter and trade must run its course within the strong limits imposed by the State, backed by the forces of the Soviet, the Army and the Trade Unions, until the shattered economic life of the country is somewhat restored; until there are enough manufactured goods in the hands of the Government to give the peasant in exchange for grain; until the vast plans for the electrification of transport and industry now undertaken, mature within the next decade; above all, until the rising generation of children bred in the ideas of communal ownership shall swarm

from the schools upon society and create an atmosphere favorable to the realization of those socialist ideals, when private property in the means of production, distribution and exchange shall be prohibited and the exploitation of one human being by another shall pass away ; when society shall exact from each individual according to his ability, and give to each according to his needs. For a short space, in the heat of war, famine and revolution, this dream was realized, however imperfectly, in Soviet Russia, and those who watch the course of world events are justified in predicting that it shall come to pass once more. Then the petty to-day will disappear of themselves, and the clear-eyed policy of excrescences that mar the revolutionary vigour of Russian life the Russian leaders will have amply justified itself.

SANTI DEVI.

## THE PRICE OF INDIA'S DREAM.

### An American View

The road is long and white and flanked by warm fields which every now and then embrace the sunburned ruins of some ancient tomb, as the furlongs slip into miles, the moments slip past into years and hundreds of years and when the mighty walls of Indraput lift themselves majestic, mystic, monumental, against the pale gold of the sky, one is not startled but thrilled with the sense of a dream come true. A straggling line of women clothed in brilliant 'Saris' winds up the steep white road that sweeps through the towering gateway. One follows dreamily, lured on by the shattered tower's promise of magnificent desolation within, and there one finds a ragged village spread upon the heaped-up ruins as carelessly and naturally as though the tiny mudhouses had grown like lichens from the crevisses of old crumbling foundations. A double line of sheds springing from the great gateway's mouth is the bazar of the city where sleepy shopkeepers, sitting cross legged behind heaps of chupatis, loaves of yellow 'Gur' and baskets of varied grains, nod in the shelter of the towering battlements. Line after line of huts winding up and down, in and out, of the piled ruins shows that hundreds of people live here, shut in by the broken walls of an old dynasty. Quietly one family after another has taken up its abode in a ruined courtyard roofed over a portion of the crumbling wall and left the rest to desolation.

Wandering about one finds groups of flat-breasted soft-voiced women sitting on the remains of ancient shrines, kneading cowdung into cakes and throwing these deftly against an opposing wall to dry, a wall some hundreds of years old, still showing faint traces of an ancient design cut upon its stones. Buffalo cows lumber through the tiny alleys and stare at one stolidly over the half destroyed walls of a grass grown temple. One sits down on a jagged bit of sandstone which has fallen into someone's front yard from the battlements and presently a group of children, naked wobbly children with pot bellies, begin to appear from among the ruins and gather about to stare out of sick, wondering

eyes. The silent wild-eyed men and women, who gather more slowly, are kindly low caste people who tell you gradually that they have lived here all their lives. One or two of the men have been to Delhi, but none seem to have any sense whatever of their surroundings and no interest in them. Indeed they only know that these are the ruins of an ancient kingdom because the Sahib Log come to see. They are not depressed by the desolation, it is all the same to them, ruined corner or newly made mud walls, but the people speak in a minor key and the living here is very poor. There are none of those healthy Indian village sounds to be heard, no barking of dogs, no crying of children, no droning of wheeling wells, only the call of a bird now and then from the great walls that shut us in. The tide of life flows over these villages very slowly, very languidly, so very slowly that one wonders whether it will not just stop some time and the village drift away into the ruins whence it came, and the tired men and women and children, one feels, will not care at all, for they care not at all now. One goes away out of the great gateway and from the warm fields one looks back. And among those ancient ruins there live the ghosts of men and women and children : a village of ghosts.

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Coming front the frank and obvious west, where everyman's vigorous life is writ large upon his forehead, to this people whose history is fantastic legend, whose individual habits are the immediate result of a system of conduct as old as the lives of many nations, where everyman's tomorrow stretches out through an endless round of births and deaths, I was baffled and haunted by the Indian countenance. There were fine eyes innumerable, nobly chiselled features, well shaped heads, but the eyes were enigmatically the same to me and only occasionally a flash of expression picked out a man's face from the unillumined background of a thousand others, immobile, dead. It was not the stoic immobility of the Chinese face. That merely forbade understanding. Here there was an appeal to be understood. Something dumb struggled for articulation, a desire to be known flickered behind opaquely inexpressive eyes and a hopeless

inertia looked the soul behind a wooden physiognomy. These alien faces haunted me with a sense of dreadful familiarity.

“Don’t you care?” I questioned a woman in the bazaar one day, who had suffered an outrage at the hand of a friend.

“Of a truth Mem Sahib, but she will be born a mosquito in the next world”. And she looked at me with weary indifferent eyes while the offender swung off and disappeared in the crowd. I went on my way wonderingly scanning the throng of faces that stared at me; all with the same apathy of my ghost-villagers stamped upon them, and suddenly I saw in them what is for all to see, the same look that lives in the faces of wearied visionists the world over. Scattered through the shrines of New York, in factories, in fashionable churches, in ragged studios and at office desks, east and west one meets them, these fine worn out spirits who have tried to escape this zestless world through the dreamlife of another and have failed. They are of the ardent spirit stuff that poets are made of, not born to apathy of mind and body, but they are not brave dreamers and so they live among their ruins; ghosts of men.

There are many individual ghost-spirits in many lands but in India there is a race of them. This is the price she has had to pay for her Buddha and her Tulsidas, that she should number dreamers who have failed to live, in millions; just as it is the price Germany has had to pay for her Goethe and her Beethoven that she should number poets and musicians who have failed, in millions. The difference is this, that in India the price is highest of all; the thing achieved least appreciated. She has travailed for centuries to bring forth a spirit that can be expressed neither in art nor in music nor in literature. Her art is as nothing to that which she has tried to express, the Heart of God. It rises to the mystically beautiful, it sinks more often to the grotesque. Her music is barbaric discord, even the written record of her spiritual growth is as chaff to the fire of her dream fervour. It is in the very nature of her dream that this should be so. While art champions its own cause by building its own monuments, India is fighting for a dream which can leave no visible monuments worthy of itself. Her ideal, her measure of achievement, and her failure, can be measured in

terms of spirit alone. Her ideal is still inarticulate, only partially embodied in the personalities of her few great teachers. Her measure of achievement lives in the meaning that their message has had for the thought of the world and her failure lies engraved in the wearied spirit of her own people.

There are those among the thinkers of to-day who condemn art for the living sacrifices heaped upon her altar, but the cry goes up over all the western world against these Philistines, "Give us Beauty at any price".

When the spirit of India is upbraided for the sacrifice of her people, will the world cry out to justify her? Few men, who know India from personal dealing with her, can see beyond her terrible need. We seek for religious teachers, for social reformers, and find an alien Government pouring into the minds of a few, the knowledge of many modern things but no knowledge of God. We watch for the pure spirit of a young India and find a community of students who can twist a point of law as skilfully as any English barrister, and quote Shakespeare for any inopportune occasion, but care not at all for the souls of their own people. We search behind this new excrescence of education for the conscience of India and we find masses of weary men and women who have schooled themselves to such indifference that they literally have no wants on the edge of starvation, and throngs of children who are old men and women before they recognize their one glorious chance of being young.

We, of the west, who are so ready to interpret appearances, looking into the careless sophisticated faces of Government College students or into the dull eyes of the women who live huddled in dingy Zenanas, find it hard to remember that India has a message for the world. Whence is her Saviour and Interpreter to come? Surely not from among the ghost-spirits, who are content to live among the ruins of their own nation? He, who is to see and understand the needs of his own people in India, must see through the needs of the west. He must know what it is to value this life of ours as we value it; for its eternal possibilities, and he must know how to value it not, as the true Indian values it not, for its fleeting misery. He cannot paint his picture on canvas, nor can he transcribe his vision in

a drama. He must live a life that will sweep his people away from out of their ruins. And the price that India will have to pay for him will be greater than any she yet paid, for the East and the West will come home to him—warring.

MARY BORDEN TURNER.

## A SIXTEENTH CENTURY EXPERIMENT IN NATION BUILDING.

### AKBAR AND THE DIN-I-ILAHI.

“Try, but if you fail the fault is not yours’.

Commerce and colonization are the pre-eminent features of the world’s history in the 16th century. Rivalry in these made the European nations what they are to-day, and it is consequently only natural, that these should generally monopolise all the attention of historians. When the century opened, “nationality” was still in the melting pot; but when it closed, Europe was a continent of so many different nations, fighting with each other for the mastery of world commerce and new Empires.

Religion, however, was still a matter of consequence with people, and if there was anything that stood in the way of a real fusion of the various peoples within their geographical limits, it was a regard for the god they worshipped, and more so the form in which the worship was conducted. This was as true of France as of England or Germany, and nations were still incoherent masses of diverse sects and creeds.

Circumstances however forced on the western world a spirit of toleration, and with its development came a change in the political atmosphere of the countries, which soon lifted some of them to the highest pinnacle of glory. People became united not because they would not remain separated, but because they could not. The motive was purely mundane. It was the lust for foreign gold that blinded men to all other considerations, and if more money was needed, there had to be less of religious class-war. We do not mean to say that more of money meant less of religion. By no means that. Still the question was of common interest, which was bound to smoothen the differences, and perhaps remove them altogether. It was all a matter of give and take. Successful enterprise required better union and understanding, which, in their turn, demanded great sacrifices in matters of religion. Thus did nature vindicate herself; for

it has been rightly said that “a common danger, a common pleasure, and a common pursuit are the touches by which she draws men together into the kinship of mutual esteem,” and thus was the man of the world born when the religious enthusiast was dead.

The spirit of toleration, whatever its origin, made nationality an established fact in the west, and will, we feel, in time to come, be the indirect but none the less forcible factor in the materialization of the modern idea, of the ‘parliament of man’.

What circumstances forced on Europe was put before India, in the same 16th century, as a carefully thought-out and practicable plan by Akbar. Of this, unfortunately nothing seems to be known to the average educated Indian. In fact, very little attention is paid by people to the work of this great man, who deserves to be more widely known and read about. Akbar was deservedly one of the greatest rulers known. The excellence of his Government and his great talents, his untiring energy and the unremitting attention that he paid to the happiness of his people, are matters that have won for the great Moghal an undying reputation in human History and an undisputedly high place amongst world’s great personages.

Of all Akbar’s activities, however, nothing is more worthy of admiration, than his attempt to introduce the principle of toleration into a Mohamedan ruling race, to whom it was a religious duty to prosecute and persecute the Kafirs. And this the Emperor attempted, at a time, when the world was still full of intolerance. The ‘May-flower’ sailed after Akbar’s death, toleration to dissenters was still resented by many in the 19th century, but the great Moghal’s principle of ‘Sulh-i-Kul’ was practised in the 16th, unfortunately to fail, but perhaps to give a firm root to the Moghal-Empire, which only time and circumstances could eradicate from the soil. Cromwell theorised over toleration, James and Charles spoke of toleration but none could make their people believe that such a thing was possible. Akbar also cried aloud for toleration but he alone made a bold attempt to realise it. He meant to put his principles to practice, and as it was impossible to reconcile men differing so greatly in religion as Hindus and Mohamedans; Akbar tried to unite them

under the banner of a new cult, The Din-i-Ilahi, the religion of God.

The four centuries that have elapsed since the death of Akbar, have seen all the western nations united bodies inspite of religious differences. To-day it is not surprising to see a Protestant father having a Catholic son, and an Englishman is a Britisher first and a Christian afterwards. In India however, even a bold attempt like Akbar's has failed to fuse the two cults into one. Hindus and Mohamedans have lived together for over a thousand years now, but a feeling of bigotry and conservatism still remains in the hearts of these sister communities.

We are not here to enquire what is responsible for this difference, but if we were to, we would perhaps point to the peculiar conservatism of this country and the repugnance with which Hindu India views any attempt at an innovation in religion. This Akbar may have learnt to his bitter disappointment, for the Din-i-Ilahi lived and died with him.

But what was the Din-i-Ilahi? This is one of those questions in Akbar's History that seems to baffle an attempt at solution. Between the rhetoric of Abul Fazal and the curses of Al-Badauni, between a modern free thinker who loves to talk of "Epileptic fits" and a panegyrist who dares speak of demi-gods on earth, a student of Akbar finds himself entirely at sea. Then again the Shiah, the Sufi, the Hindu, the Zoroastrian, the Jain, nay even the Jesuit and the Theosophist likes to claim the Emperor as his own. It may be said that Akbar's cult was eclectic. But 'eclectic' is a very vague term, and presents no solution to the difficulty even when an attempt is made to define the eclecticism by declaring Akbar, "a Parsi—Sufi—Hindu—Iranian-Sun-worshipper." Philosophizing carries us no further but makes "confusion worse confounded". Thus the statement that Akbar was "one of those who are too religious to profess any form or creed and too positive in intellect to conform to a positive belief" may be a pleasant phrase but is certainly no help to a student who aims at definite conclusions. The fact is that Akbar was, as Max Muller fitly expresses, 'the first student of comparative theology' and in order to determine how far the Din-i-Ilahi was affected by the

various religions that the Emperor studied, one has himself to be no mean student of comparative theology. This, however, is more than we need attempt.

But while we may not attempt to define the *Din-i-Ilahi* and scrutinize the ritual of this new cult, we can approach the subject from a historical point of view. We can study the forces and influences that brought the idea into the Emperor's mind, the development of that idea and the political object, if any, underlying it. This is what we have attempted below.

Akbar was a sincerely religious person and "constitutionally devout". We are told by Jahangir that the Emperor never for a moment forgot God, and performed private devotions regularly. "Apart from his religious exercises," truly says Smith, "his whole course of life testified to the extreme interest taken by him in the problem of the relation between God and Man". Akbar himself shows a burning desire to understand the meaning of religion when he says, "Although I am a master of so vast a Kingdom and all the appliances of the Government are at my hand, yet, since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in the diversity of sects and creeds; and apart from this outward pomp of circumstances, with what satisfaction in my dependency can I undertake the sway of the Empire? I await the coming of some discreet man of principle, who will resolve the difficulties of my conscience." It appears that Akbar developed this religious tendency sometime in his childhood. There is very little historical evidence to justify an assertion of this nature, but we can not help noticing two important facts in this connection. The first is, that Sufism was still an important and popular cult in the first half of the sixteenth century and secondly, that Humayun came under Sufi influence while as a young man he was the governor of Badakshan borders. The correspondence between him and Babar shows us that he was developing ascetic habits under the influence of Sufi Mystics, who at that time, were numerous in Central Asia. It is probable that Akbar picked up the religious taste from his father. However that may be, we can not deny that the Emperor started his career, as a curiously religious man and inquisitive about matters pertaining to God. For five years

after the death of his father, the young Emperor was under the guardianship of Bairam Khan. The year 1561 saw him independent. He was in a foreign country and could not place much reliance on the refractory nobles of his father's camp. He therefore seems to have decided to be the King of Hindustan, and to rule with the help of the majority of his subjects—the Hindus and specially the sturdy Rajputs.

To the Rajput, who threw in his lot with the Emperor, Akbar offered everything that he could give. "He could have wealth, he could have power and he could have commands". "The essence of such a union," says Kennedy, "was through the marriages," and the moment the Emperor is independent, we find him marrying the daughter of the Hindu Raja Bihari Mal of Amber. Hindu ladies have been heard of in Muslim harems ever since the latter settled in India, but so far these ladies no longer remained Hindus the moment they entered the Royal palace. Akbar's Hindu wives, however, remained Hindus and were free to practise their religious rites. The importance of this departure cannot possibly be exaggerated. If Hindu ladies could remain Hindus after entering the harem of a Sunni Mohamedan, if they could be allowed to worship their "Thakurji" and perform their "Havan" inside a Muslim palace, it would not take long to create a better understanding between the two sects. The departure is nothing short of a revolution, looked at from a strictly Sunni point of view; and is a decided step forward, towards the establishment of a national church. Soon after the Rajput Marriages, Akbar experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening. "I experienced," said he, "an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow". Smith connects this "excess of religious melancholy" with the consciousness of the weight of the vast responsibility that rested on Akbar's shoulders and the public events which preceded this time—events which had taught the Emperor the painful lesson that he had no trustworthy people about him. That may be so, but we cannot altogether ignore the fact that the young Emperor's inquisitive mind must have been influenced by the Hindu worship which he saw the Rajput ladies performing in the harem.

What a contrast between the puritanical 'Namaz' of the Mohamedan and the elaborate ritual of the Hindu. It was not above Akbar to enquire why the difference existed, and which of these two modes would enable him to realise the infiniteness of the Almighty. Hence the internal bitterness of the soul; hence the 'melancholy'. The next year sees the Emperor take another drift towards toleration. While hunting at Mathura, Akbar was informed, that Government levied dues from pilgrims worshipping at the holy places of the Hindus. Expressing the opinion that it was contrary to the will of God to tax the people assembled to worship, he immediately remitted all pilgrim taxes throughout the Moghal Empire. The reason that prompted the Emperor to take this step is noteworthy. Another year, and the Jazia was remitted. We are not in a position to say definitely at what rate the tax was levied, but there is every reason to believe that it formed a good source of income to the Government.

To Akbar the period under discussion was of pecuniary distress. The expensive 'maham angah' regime had left him almost penniless, and at one time a sum of Rs. 12/- was not forthcoming from the Royal treasury. Still Akbar stopped, by one stroke of his pen, an important source of income. The hateful Jazia and the pilgrim tax should not be continued. But why? Partly because no reconciliation was possible, as long as the Hindu was, every year and in every pilgrimage, reminded of the fact, that between him and his rulers nothing was common; and partly because Akbar sincerely felt that it was against the will of god to tax people for worshipping. Judged politically the remission of the taxes meant a reconciliation of the Hindus. Judged religiously, it was another drift towards the adoption of the principle of "Sulh-i-Kul." We will be doing injustice to Akbar if we do not give him credit for having realized the magnitude of this step. He was no doubt aware that he was sacrificing his revenue, and also perhaps hurting the feelings of his orthodox co-religionists. But still the change was made. One marvels at the strength of will and independence of thought displayed by the Emperor at such an early age.

For the next ten years nothing worth mentioning takes place. The Emperor was to all appearances, a true

Mohamedan, performing the regular pilgrimage to Ajmer. In 1573, however the Emperor was greeted back to Fatehpur Sikri on his return from the Gujrat Campaign, and Shaikh Mubarak (Abul-Fazal's father) made a speech expressing the wish that the Emperor might become the spiritual as well the temporal head of the people. The suggestion, Smith thinks, Akbar kept in view till six years later he acted on it. It was now that Abul Fazl was presented at the court, soon won the imperial favour and figured conspicuously in the Ibadat Khana discussions shortly to be mentioned.

For the time being Akbar could rest in peace. Rebellions had been crushed and he was fairly the master of a greater part of Northern India. He therefore took to his old hobby of trying to find out the 'Truth'. Orders were given for the erection of a house of worship—the Ibadat Khana—for religious discussions, and "the Emperor himself" says Badauni, "spent whole nights in praising God". He would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditations on a large flat stone of an old building .....with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early dawn".

Religious discussions now began to take place at the 'Anup Talao,' and subsequently in the 'Ibadat Khana'. Starting on Thursday nights, they were continued till noon on the next day, the Emperor in most cases presiding in person. To avoid any dispute about seats, these were allocated to doctors of different sects. It must be mentioned that for the present, it is only the Mohammedan doctors of various sects who were allowed admission to the house of worship. But the Ulemas, Shaikhs and Syeds alike, were far from being pleased with this new experiment, and one need not wonder if one hears them calling the Ibadat Khana, "the house of Pharaoh". They were at times so noisy, that they disgusted the Emperor with their unreasonable 'howling'. Badauni humourously tells us, that when ordered to turn the noisy Ulemas out of the assembly, he would start at one end and finish at the other. (Drive everybody out). For indeed, one was no less noisy than the other. Then again the Ulemas could not give satisfactory answers to questions, that the Emperor asked them. By 1575, the debates had begun

to be very violent indeed, and the Ulemas even went to the extent of calling one another Kafirs.

The extreme narrowness of the Ulemas had a decisive influence on the Emperor. The "truth", Akbar was convinced, was not known to the Muslim doctors of any sect whatsoever. Where then was he to look for it?

Perhaps he started with himself. For, early in 1578, while encamped at Bhera in the Punjab, to enjoy a great Kamārg hunt, something remarkable happened to the Emperor. Badauni tells us that when everything was ready for the hunt, "a strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for.....". The hunt was at once abandoned, and Akbar distributed gold to the Fakirs and the poor.

"The information," says Smith, "is tantalizing in its meagreness", and no one has given an intelligible account of this spiritual storm. Smith believes that all this was an "epileptic fit". Is it not more likely, that foiled in his attempt to seek the "truth" elsewhere, the Emperor tried, and may be, realized that what he sought outside was within himself?

The debates in the Ibadat Khana went on as usual, but henceforth they were open to everybody. The Jesuits, the Jains the Parsees, and the Hindus were all invited to the court. Akbar now tried a startling innovation by taking the place of the regular preacher in the Fatehpur mosque, and reciting the Khutba. Abul Fazl admits that the innovation was unpopular. It is therefore not surprising to find Akbar trying to reconcile the Mohammedans, by carrying a stone which was brought from Mecca on his own shoulders. By 1579, Shaikh Mubarak had drawn up a formal document, the infallibility decree, declaring the Emperor the head of the church, and consequently above the Ulemas and Mujtahids.

These innovations were bound to be unpopular with the class of people, whose pocket they touched, and Akbar had to face a really critical situation. The Mallas had declared a "jihad" against the Emperor, the Bengal Afghans had been inflamed to rise against the heretic ruler, and Akbar's own minister Shah Mansur had invited Mirza Hakim, the Emperor's

half-brother, to invade India. Akbar however was too much for these people. He suppressed the Bengal rising, made an example of Shah Mansur, whom he executed, and drove Mirza Hakim from India as well as from Kabul.

The infallibility decree was a document that "ensured to Akbar.....the utmost power that any man could claim to exercise within the limits of Islam". Armed with this, he could take the next step and proclaim a new religion. Malleson calls the document the "Magna Charta" of Akbar's reign, and indeed if documents of this nature, signed by the State Mullas partly under compulsion could have any weight, Akbar had won a great victory. But the general rising in Bengal must have shown him that time was not yet ripe for such revolutionary changes.

The danger referred to above being over, Akbar boldly proclaimed the Din-i-Ilahi. It is not for us to define the Din-i-Ilahi. An attempt of that nature, we said elsewhere, is bound to be a failure. Suffice it to say that it was a cosmopolitan religion, founded with the object, best expressed in Akbar's words, who, while condemning the disunion among his subjects, said "we ought.....to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all'; with the advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way, honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to peoples, and security to the Empire."

Of this universal religion the Emperor himself was the high priest. The convert was to undergo a ceremony of initiation, and was to wear a particular mark of his creed. He was to abstain from meat-eating at certain periods, was not to kill cows, and perform certain ceremonies. The ritual was a curious hotch-potch of Jainism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, and perhaps Islam, which being devoid of any ritual, cannot be prominently located in any part of the ceremony or the regulations.

Akbar's project of establishing a universal religion for India had now taken shape. He had renounced Islam and if Badauni is to be believed his apostasy was complete. Whatever else he was, he no longer remained a Mohammadan. The

Ibadat Khana discussions ceased, and the rest of the period is of initiations of novices into the new cult.

This then is the story of the noble experiment that Akbar made, an experiment which was his highest hope in life, and which would have been his greatest pride had it succeeded. This however was not to be, and the Tanhid-i-Ilahi remained almost the only failure of his career. The Emperor's object was to unite his subjects under the banner of a common cult. Smith has done great injustice to him in making us believe that he positively prohibited Muslim rites and that "notwithstanding the fine phrases about general toleration" Akbar committed acts of fierce intolerance towards the Muslims. To refute the statement wholesale would take more space than is permissible in a paper of this sort. But it must be mentioned that Smith makes this assertion on the authority of Bartoli and Al-Badauni—one a disappointed Missionary, and the other a bigoted Sunni, and a Vakil of the disappointed Mullas. Akbar invited the Jesuits to his court, learnt much of their religion, humoured them while he willed, and when they were almost sure that the conversion to Christianity of the great Moghul was only a matter of days, they were disappointed to find that the Emperor was in no such mood. What wonder is there then, that these Jesuits have attempted to ridicule Akbar as much as they could? As for the Mullas, whose opinion Badauni voices, much need not be said. With all their illiteracy and irreligious living, they were so far the doctors of their faith, and could *ex-cathedra* dictate their own terms to a religiously blind populace. They now lay widowed of that authority, and must have felt this keenly. A graphic picture of the position of the Mullas has been drawn by Azad in his famous book the *Darbar-i-Akbari*. To that author we refer such of our readers as care to study the matter further. But to say that Akbar did anything to show his intolerance of Islam is not just.

The Din-i-Ilahi, however, was a failure. It failed to attract the Hindus and it displeased the Musalmans. Bir Bal is perhaps the only solitary instance of a high grade Hindu disciple of Akbar. The Rajputs refused one and all to be initiated. No political object could be gained out of a movement which attracted

neither the Hindus nor the Muslims; and Akbar's dream of uniting India through religion could not be realised.

But if the Din-i-Ilahi was a failure as a political factor of any consequence, it could not succeed as a religion. Akbar himself was a sincerely religious person, and perhaps believed that he was the chosen of the Almighty to preach the truth to his subjects. But between him and them there was unfortunately a gulf which it was beyond his powers to bridge. He might have felt the inward change in himself, he might have felt the awakening, he might have known the truth, but the masses, whom he wished to convert, had neither his sincerity, nor his brain, nor yet his heart. Well might it have been, had Akbar rested content with the fact, that,

“The dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller,” and not to the masses in the streets.

P. B. JOSHI.

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## SOME ROMANCES IN JOURNALISM.

The popular and common-place conception of romance in life usually connotes a kind of adventurous spirit which cuts itself adrift from its wonted environments and associations quite heedless of the difficulties that lie ahead, the spirit which induces a man to "sail away" and enables him to "to come back a millionaire". Cecil Rhodes and Andrew Carnegie and Lord Strathcona are good examples of what, to the average man, are typical romantic careers. To him Fleet Street is an uncomprisingly dull place and journalism and romance are, imaginatively, incongruous with each other. Among the liberal professions, at all events, that of journalism is not ordinarily held high for what I might call its excitability. The bustling enthusiastic men with a deal of "pluck and go" generally brush aside the idea of entering its ranks, more so of making a mark in it, without any very great pangs. The highest rewards of journalism are, in their reckoning, too modest to fire their imaginations. So they bid good-bye to it and march along the corridor of life without regret, getting into and getting out of other professions by the way. Even in Europe and America where the Press has come to stay and wields an influence nothing short of enormous, people look upon it much in the same way as they look upon a damp squib in pyrotechnics. I have heard men in the know often say that very few of the undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge ever think of taking kindly to journalism as a profession. To the vast majority, somehow, it is not the "thing". They regard it as the close preserve of dull or disappointed persons who cannot get on well with the world. The strange thing about this prevailing tendency to look askance at the profession in question is that it does not proceed, as far as one could judge, on any marked inaptitude for it or any extraordinary call which it makes on the intellectual stock-in-trade of those who pursue the vocation. Of course the aspirant for journalistic name and fame ought to be more than a mediocrity;

very often he must needs have an efficient technical training and a liberal education, and more than either a particular frame of mind. But this is not the sole and sufficient reason why the Press stinks in the delicate nostrils of many a man at the psychological moment when he stands bewilderingly at the parting of the ways. The objection invariably is that the task of guiding public opinion does not afford enough "scope" for one's talents and that the performance of it in the early watches of the night in an ill-furnished and poky room may cramp one's individuality and altogether spoil the chances of coming out with flying colours.

That is the popular belief, and like many other popular beliefs, it is mistaken. When one talks of romances in journalism I am pretty sure eyebrows will lift and shoulders might shrug, for the affair is inconceivable. However, a close study of some careers which journalism has "made" will reveal to the discerning eye the possibility of romances even in its humdrum ranks. I propose, within the compass of this article, to sketch a few of such careers which make some sort of appeal to our sense of wonder. I need not expressly say that I do not delude myself into the belief that my attempt will, in anywise, be effective in changing the usual attitude towards journalism. Perhaps it might bring a ray of radiant hope and genuine comfort to those "unfortunates" who have already stumbled upon it, possibly in an hour of dark despair.

The career *par excellence* which reads truly like a romance is that of Mark Twain. When one thinks of the wonders which could be worked through the apparently dull avenue of journalism no name leaps to one's lips so readily as this famous *nom de plume*. The man behind the gilded letters was known in his domestic circles as Samuel Langhume Clemens. It is perhaps an illustration of the tight grip which Fame makes that the most versatile journalist America has ever produced is more widely known to the world by his pseudonym than by his real name. Mark Twain himself could not have succeeded in breaking the pleasing spell of that fictitious name and in winning any public recognition except under its cover. Such is the irony of Fate that the counterfeit became current coin. Whether as "journalist, philosopher, humourist,

man of letters or as the most beloved citizen" it is Mark Twain who is Mark. Samuel Clemens was an unknown name.

Mark Twain was so versatile and the vocations which he followed, and followed with success, were so many that it is rather hard for any one to label him on to any profession. Be that as it may, it was journalism which revealed his striking qualities; he stayed longest in it and circumstances are not wanting to show that he liked it best of all callings. The name Mark Twain is more directly a product of journalism. He retained it even as author because of the tremendous vogue which it enjoyed among the numerous newspaper readers. His commercial instinct would not have been the sharp and shrewd one it was if it did not suggest to him the advantages of continuing in it. If, then, Mark Twain, the author outshines Mark Twain, the journalist it is on account of the good-will which the former secured from the latter.

It is unfortunate that no satisfactory biography of his has yet been written. Still there is no denying that he deserves such a perpetuation of his memory. The man who writes the story of his life will not only have as solemn duty to discharge but also have the entertaining task of bringing into light many amusing stories which centre round his genial personality. Such a book is sure to tingle with interest because the man possessed a head and a heart and knew the "stuff of life".

Samuel Clemens alias Mark Twain was born in Florida on November 30th, 1835. He was a delicate boy who did not show any sign of intelligence above the ordinary run. His life was unpromising at start, for his talents were, at that time, meagre, body weak and circumstances very straitened. The cruel dictate of fickle Fortune was responsible for such brief and desultory schooling as young Clemens had. His education, such as it was, ended in his twelfth year in 1847, when he became apprenticed to an ordinary printer. A few years later Sam's elder brother brought out a small paper in which the future Mark Twain began his first writings. These writings often "burlesques of local characters and conditions," were his primary lessons in journalism. The temperaments of the two brothers did not seem to have tallied. Frictions were not few and far between. Partly

to escape from unpleasantness and partly in obedience to the adventurous "ardours which swelled in his bosom" he went to New York, thence to Philadelphia and Washington where he did some odds and jobs to make ends meet. Dissatisfied with this sort of dull hand to mouth existence he decided to go to Brazil. The decision was on a par with the adventurous disposition of Samuel Clemens of which he was almost daily giving fresh proofs. In those days South America was the proto-type of the ancient cave of Adullum. Sam not having fared well in the world sought to enter the cave. By some unaccountable accident, the mystery of which none, not even Sam himself, has unravelled, the enterprising young man was prevented from departing Southward Ho! Great should have been Sam's chagrin at this unexpected slip between the cup and the lip. He made up for it by becoming a pilot on the Mississippi. There is no doubt that he made the choice heartily, for he brought, subsequently, considerable enthusiasm to bear upon his routine work and did distinguish himself in its performance. Two years and a half went by like that, when Clemens turned his attention towards the militia. In his case to think was to act. Without hesitation, therefore, he enlisted. Later on he was appointed as the private secretary of his brother. Soon he threw it up and became a professional miner. The flightiness of Sam argued his inability to find his level. He felt like a round peg in a square hole and, romantic as he was, he determined to try one situation after another.

However, in 1862 the "call" came to which Samuel responded. He was summoned by one Joe Goodman to take up the local editorship of the Virginia City "Enterprise". The offer was accepted, the salary agreed upon was \$28 a week. A trifling incident connected with this appointment brings into strong relief the "go" in the man. He was out at elbow when the news of his appointment reached him and rather than seek accommodation in a sum of money at the hands of fiends or relatives he made up his mind to walk up the distance to his official destination. To be sure he did trudge a hundred and thirty miles over bad and miserable roads before he took charge of his new post. It was during the time of his connection with

the "Enterprise" that he began signing his articles under the name "Mark Twain", a name reminiscent of his days as a pilot on the Mississippi. He had almost settled down to his job when he got into a queer scrape and, being very sensitive to his own honour, agreed to fight a duel with his adversary. The duel did not come off, but he had to quit the place to escape the rigour of the Nevada law relating to the offence of duelling.

The change was to California where that prince of humourists, Bret Harte, was careering along his primrose path of wealth and fame, sweeping, as he alone could have done, everything before his gentle wit and pleasant humour. Mark Twain got himself attached to a paper called the "Morning Call". His journalistic labours were not confined to that organ alone. Occasionally he contributed to such literary papers as the "Golden Era" and the "Californian." The incident which made him famous as a newspaper writer happened in the course of his Californian stay. He wrote a story entitled the "Jumping Frog". So great was the sudden effect which its publication produced on the reading public that Byron's saying "one fine morning I awoke and found myself famous" is literally true in Mark Twain's case as well. The whole New York was in a roar. His success as a writer was assured. If anything was needed to make assurance doubly sure another incident followed to supply the want. At the invitation of a friend Mark Twain proceeded to New York to give a lecture. In New York, at that time, arrangements were swiftly going on for a visiting tour to Europe. Mark Twain delighted to go, but his pecuniary circumstances vetoed his heart's desire. A Californian paper came forward with the somewhat generous offer to defray the expenses of the impecunious journalist, in return for which he was to contribute a series of letters based upon the Continental tour. Mark Twain agreed and thus joined the party of itinerants. The pleasure trip was destined to be fraught with great consequences. The letters which were contributed to the "Alta Californian" and the "New York Tribune" pursuant to engagement were eventually published as "Innocents Abroad". The message of transparent honesty, the vivacious and somewhat quaint style and the sparkling humour of the author were, no doubt, bound

to tell. From the time of its publication the book has enjoyed an uninterrupted course of wide popularity. To-day "Innocents Abroad" takes its pride of place among such classical books of travel as Borrow's "Bible in Spain" and Kinglake's "Eothen".

The rapid sale and success of the book transformed Mark Twain from a mere journalist to a popular author. His consciousness of literary talents began to assume deep and deeper tone. The consequence was a tremendous output. He warmed up to any conceivable subject at a moment's notice. An adventure, however trifling, an episode, however brief, was sufficient to call into being his agreeable style in a readable book. With increasing production of books also came increasing wealth. One remarkable feature about his manner of writing his books was to publish them *seriatim* in some journal of note. Often it is a hazardous venture, for in this way the reader gets a foretaste of that which is yet to come. A writer under such circumstances ought to be exceptionally clever in order to be interesting. An occasional falling-off in quality or any betrayal of signs of occasional flagging will set the impatient readers in a tantrum, thus jeopardising the chances of the anticipated book. But Mark Twain knew his art and craft as few others knew and without the least difficulty came to his own. The old saying that "with eating comes appetite" applied to the feverish avidity with which the public doubled up to buy his books when they once received the fierce momentum from a hasty perusal of them in the newspaper or the magazine.

About the year 1889, after completing a lecturing tour in Europe, he settled down in Hartford. By now he had established his reputation beyond cavil or criticism. Hartford became the Mecca of literary and journalistic celebrities. Among those devout pilgrims was Mr. Kipling whose un-bounded admiration for the American writer was instinctive. Mark Twain, in spite of his modesty which fought shy of visitors, was very hospitable to his interviewers. The extreme simplicity of the man is borne out, practically, by every one who met him in his quiet home. The brilliant and the most widely talked of man lived a life of serene placidity. Nothing but a waggery of Fate could have delighted in once more persecuting the triumphant man.

Trouble and sorrow succeeded the days of Hartford beatitude. The wild game of making money in a moment was a weakness to which Mark Twain was constitutionally prone. An abnormal greed for big fortunes swiftly made does not pause to count the mile-stones, that have to be passed on the road, before the coveted destination is reached. Speculation reduces a man to poverty more frequently than it raises him to opulence. Whatever general view be taken on the subject of gambling, Mark Twain paid heavily for his partiality for it. With his sordid desire to pile up millions he hazarded on a type-setting venture and also bought an interest in a newspaper called the "Express" published from Buffalo, New York. The former of the two enterprises proved a complete fiasco. His decent fortune, the appropriate reward for patient toil and deserving talents, came down with a terrible crash like the proverbial fall of an Egyptian Pyramid. The clever author of the "Man that corrupted Hadleyburg" and miscellaneous other books became heavily involved in debts. In middle age he was confronted with the bitter and intensely mortifying necessity for beginning life over again. However, the unfortunate victim bore his tribulations with philosophic resignation. Undaunted by the stroke of ill luck which brought him at once from the sublime to the ridiculous, if not the pitiable, he determined on a swift revivification of his tangled state of affairs. I have already referred to Mark Twain's extreme sensitiveness. Adversity, far from blunting it, gave it only a keener edge. His creditors moved to compassion at the spectacle of a great man in sore distress agreed to compound, in some cases to forego, their claims. The proposal was rejected quite heroically. Mark Twain's scheme of working off the heavy load of debt was singularly novel. In exactly identical circumstances Sir Walter Scott began to write novels; the American took to lecturing and reading. The success of both, each in his own way, is one of the most brilliant and encouraging records of literature. Mark Twain's reading tour in England, America, Australia, New Zealand and India was as effective as the type-setting scheme was disastrous. He returned to America with plenty of money and paid all his debts to the last cent. Fortune once more smiled on the indefatigable man. Honours began to

fall on him thick and quick. The Yale College conferred on him the honorary degree of D. Lit. in 1901; Columbia and Oxford followed suit. He was particularly smitten with the degree from the most ancient home of culture in "Merry England". At one time he appears to have said "I shall journey to Mars and back twice to get that degree". That was the dim echo of his throbbing, exultant heart. The anxious recipient of the honour went to Oxford to take the degree in person. The once Mississippi pilot in the flowing and picturesque robes of the Oxford Doctor cut a nice figure in the august assemblage. "It was indeed the fitting termination of a great career"; and when Mark Twain died in 1910 full of years and full of honours he did not, it might well be said, repent of his choice of profession.

Another journalist of no indifferent kind whose career runs on parallel, if not identical, lines with the subject of the foregoing paragraphs was the late Mr. W. T. Stead. Nothing but "malice prepense" could exclude him from the front ranks of leaders in thought and action of the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Despite his discredited eccentricity, often seen through the wrong end of the microscope, he was a powerful personality. He fought for many a cause; he identified himself with a variety of movements. These he accomplished through the Press, using it as a preacher uses his pulpit. By a natural law of attraction or affinity he gravitated to journalism after some trifling experiences in other walks of life. Once in it, it was easy for him to distinguish himself professionally. The editorial chair he loved with a passion and never quitted it, barring the uncalled-for and rather irritating interruptions of imprisonment, till his death. No doubt he found other outlets for his prodigious energy. Otherwise he would have died a premature death from the reaction of pent-up forces. Like Mark Twain he was a writer of books and occasionally mounted the forum. But the Press was his main stay, just as he was a shining star to the Press. Mr. Stead did not at all begin well, and when he reached his pinnacle of glory it was his custom to entertain his friends, of a dull evening, with many interesting stories of his pre-editorial days.

Mr. Stead was a Tyneside man of Puritan stock. The

pride he took in his connection with the denomination of the Independents was quite conspicuous. He was born in 1849. The little school at Sialcote and his home at Howden-on-Tyne were the scenes of his early education. Strange it is that the supreme endowments of the man did not take him beyond a public school. Of course there are other places of education, often of an un-orthodox, though of a very real nature than far-famed Salamanca or Athens. Mr. Stead had a peculiar receptivity to such instructive and edifying experiences as life in its various stages unfolds to human beings without the intermediary of puffed up pedagogues. Those lessons he imbibed with absorbing interest. True, "he had little Greek and less Latin," but he gained a strange prescience from the fascinating panorama of life which enabled him to write editorial "Hamlets."

Leaving school, Mr. Stead joined a merchant's office in Newcastle. He worked in that manner for eight years and "passed rich" with a trifle more than £40 a year, his annual earnings amounting to £80 if he was good and steady. The office-clerk had, in the course of his employment, developed other tendencies than the mere capturing of markets or the exploitation of business possibilities. The problems of life and society began to engage his attention. Conscious of having a message to deliver, he sought a better medium of expression than the ledger afforded. He thus took occasion to publish some letters on current topics in a paper in the vicinity. Not satisfied with a "local habitation and a name" he sent some contributions to the "Northern Echo" which were accepted by its editor. For these articles the sapient journalist did not receive a penny in the shape of remuneration. They, however, brought him luck, or success if you would have it so, in course of time. The manner and method of Mr. Stead's writing attracted attention from "influential" quarters. The editorship of the "Northern Echo" was now offered to him when he was in his 22nd year. With a full sense of responsibility for which he was ever so famous, he set his virile pen going on legislative inequities like the Contagious Diseases Act and social injustices like the oppression of womenkind. His enthusiasm, mastery of details and vividness of presentation acted with astonishing celerity as an eye-opener

to his wide circle of readers. The iconoclast from the northern country provoked admiration and criticism according as temperament liked or disliked his daily provender. Whatever the view on Mr. Stead's proposals or policy, his personality was too powerful to be missed by any one. The secret of his peaceful penetration to many minds was his exceptional quality of absolute self-effacement. When he took up a cause and he took up causes rather too frequently, he identified himself with it so perfectly that the mischievous ego, the author of myriads of sins and failings, folded up its tent and vanished out of view. Enthusiasm is generally infectious. That was why his "copies" sold like hot cakes. That was why he won his panegyrics from Cabinet Ministers and statesmen like Mr. Gladstone.

When Mr. Stead was riding, in this fashion, on the crest of a sudden wave of popularity, a bigger field of public usefulness and private advancement opened itself. In 1880 he joined the editorial staff of the "Pall Mall Gazette" as Mr. Morley's (now Lord Morley) assistant whom he succeeded three years later as editor-in-chief. Succeeding to Morley's heritage was a difficult matter. Men, not far above the ordinary, would have paled into oblivion before the scintillating brilliancy of Gladstone's famous biographer. But events showed that the mantle had not fallen on unworthy shoulders. Mr. Stead's editorial connection with the "Pall Mall Gazette" was signalised with unparalleled vigour and increased circulation of the paper. The modern institution of the "interview" which is so embarrassing to nervous public men is an innovation introduced into London journalism by the Tyneside man. The lynx's eye of Mr. Stead saw the advantages of publishing boldly head-lined interviews. They lent a human interest to the newspaper columns. The success which attended its adoption bids fair to be permanent if rightly followed. There is no doubt that Mr. Stead's memory will remain green as long as his once novel method continues to be followed by newspapers.

Mr. Stead severed his connection with the "Pall Mall Gazette" after controlling with ability its destinies for 8 years. In 1890 he started his "Review of Reviews" on "bold and original lines". Any journalistic venture, however risky, was

bound to succeed when it was backed up with his driving-force which he marshalled at any given time like the master of ten legions. The new "Review" fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of the founder as well as of the public. That its success was far from being accidental is more than sufficiently proved by its degeneration consequent upon his sudden death. His genius was the sunshine of its bloom and health and vigour. His great purpose in life, as he himself expressed it in the newly-found organ, namely, the "Review of Reviews", was to strive to bring "peace on earth and goodwill towards men". It was the supreme goal to which he tended from his infancy. Towards the close of his life every nerve and fibre of his vibrated to that natal note. How he lost his life while serving the cause so dear to his heart is a matter of common knowledge. In peace he met his doom on board the ill-fated "Titanic". When the news of the disaster was flashed across the world, the loss most universally bemoaned was the passing away of Mr. Stead. Surely that was no mean honour for the editor of a newspaper.

Lord Russell, the editor for long time of the "Liverpool Daily Post" is another man who, to quote his own words, "fell into journalism in quite a haphazard fashion". He was a bank clerk to begin with. An early training in business was his common ground with Mr. Stead. The difference between the two men was that, whereas Edward Russell hated his work with a good Christian hatred, William Stead did not dislike the uncomfortable office stool in the mercantile firm and stuck to it for 8 years like "patience on a monument". While so employed and feeling bitterly the leaden pace of Time which dragged wearily along, as it is in the case of a man between whom and whose billet there is no love lost, Russell wrote an article for a local paper known as the "Islington Gazette." The manuscript was rejected, but the editor bestowed some compliments on the contributor's style. It is doubtful if that generous manifestation of official courtesy softened his sense of poignant disappointment. Any how he was not permitted to hug his secret grievance for long. One evening the proprietor of the "Islington Gazette" drove up and inquired for Mr. Edward Russell. He had called to offer to Edward the editorship of his paper. His salary was

to be a guinea and a half a week, to which was super-added the price of the "London Times" every day. The latter he saved by reading the "Times", as he himself was not ashamed to confess, in a neighbouring coffee-house. A man who calculated his resources with such meticulous care when so young was sure to rise high. About this time a club, called the 'Whittington Club' needed a secretary. Mr. Russell secured the appointment on a salary of £200/- a year.

The club got into financial difficulties, so that the secretary was obliged to look out for another employment. He again thought of journalism as a means of subsistence. With that object in view he advertised in the "Athenaeum" for a situation in a newspaper office. Mr. Whitty, the proprietor of the "Liverpool Daily Post" happened upon the insertion. He wrote to Mr. Russell to call at his office on a specified day. When the applicant turned up on the due date, Mr. Whitty put a test question to him by asking what subject he would select for the column headed "News of the Day". Edward Russell mentioned some public function then performed by Prince Albert. The chief was satisfied with the selection of the topic and much more with his treatment of it. He had now stood his test and was appointed as the assistant editor of the "Liverpool Daily Post". In 1870 Mr. Whitty's eyesight began to fail. Mr. Russell was then promoted to the editorship as the most eligible man. The choice was not ill-made. Mr. Russell had, by this time, established a sound reputation as a dramatic critic and as a writer on political subjects. Under his editorship the circulation of the paper largely increased. The "Daily Post" eventually became the leading paper in Liverpool and Mr. Russell one of her most prominent citizens. In 1885 he was elected to the House of Commons, but he resigned his seat a couple of years later due to circumstances which necessitated his continued residence in Liverpool. His public work in diverse capacities, apart from his editorial function, was not little, in recognition of which he was knighted in 1893. The greatest of all his honours was bestowed on him when, in 1919, he was raised to the peerage.

These are, undoubtedly, interesting careers. The heroes

of these pages started life in humble, or more accurately, in humiliating circumstances. Through the medium of the Press and by dint of hard work they wrested the prizes of life. Many others have succeeded even more remarkably in other ways but they lack in something. The successful journalist not only wins his struggle for existence but also sets the mark of his individuality on men and society. He is a "divinity which shapeth our opinions". It is a pity if he does not regard himself thus and is not so esteemed by the public.

O. M. THOMAS.

## RUPERT BROOKE: AN APPRECIATION.

The 23rd of April is the anniversary of the death of William Shakespeare, our greatest poet. But we ought, also, to remember it as the anniversary of the death of the young soldier-poet of England,—“an inheritor of unfulfilled renown,” from whom we had learned to expect a great deal during the brief period of his poetic career. His death was almost as romantic as Sidney’s, and his life was quite as stainless. Rupert Brooke was altogether a most lovable person, as we can gather from the enthusiastic admiration with which his friends regarded him while he lived, and the genuine sorrow he evoked after his death. We read of him that at school, he was, like Keats, possessed of “extraordinary vitality” and “boisterous sense of fun”. At college, he was “one of the most interested and interesting people,” about whom an admiring lady wrote:—

A young Apollo, golden-haired,

Stands dreaming on the verge of magnificently unprepared,  
Life, another him For the long littleness of life.

And his later life was of a piece with his school and college days. A love of adventure, almost as keen as Stevenson’s, (like whom he explored the picturesque Pacific islands); a generous enthusiasm for old-world ideals; a vigorous perception of the eternal comedy of life, tinged with a touch of delicate Hamlet-like irony, and a poet’s eye for beauty both of the body and of the spirit, combined to make him “the observed of all observers” as he passed through the pageant of life. Such was the personality of Rupert Brooke.

About his poems, the time has certainly not come, when any verdict can have the finality of history. He is too near us; and his whole career, is, for us, invested with the halo of romance. And so, “the personal estimate” may perhaps interfere with “the real estimate”. Yet on the anniversary of his death, we derive a melancholy pleasure in turning over the pages of the only volume of his collected poems, and recording our impressions. And this is what we propose to do.

The strongest thing is that Rupert Brooke, who was above all, a normally-minded man (so far as the personal letters of an individual can justify us in deducing the secrets of an artist soul)

should have sought to imitate and genuinely admired the decadent style of the nineties, which was a curious mixture of Rossetti and Pater with a touch of the superb Swinburnian melody, is a strange fact. Lines like these—

All the earth grows fire,  
White lips of desire,  
Brushing cool on the forehead, croon slumberous things,  
etc., etc.

—unmistakably show his tutelage to Arthur Symons. It is a sort of Della Cruscan Craze of the nineteenth century, and the young poet apparently fell a prey to it. But he got over this phase; and when it had helped him in writing such splendid piece of poem as *Beauty and Beauty*, thrilling with the life-blood of youth, it gave place to greater poetic discipline, and a more critical sense of proportion. He abandoned, what he styled, "the odorous, amorous style of poetry". Instead of formless lyrics and disjointed elgies, he adopted the sonnet as the vehicle of expression most congenial to his genius. He harked back to the great Elizabethan Age,—an age which if it produced some of the most disorganised poems also could compress poets' exuberant fancy within the limits of fourteen lines, packed with thought. Of this change that came over him, Rupert Brooke wrote, that his ears

"Satiate

With the clamorous, timorous whisperings, of to-day  
Thrilled to perceive once more the spacious voice  
And serene utterance of old."

It is by his sonnets that Rupert Brooke will live in English literature. About these sonnets, there is nothing of that fashionable self-conscious unconsciousness which marred his early poems, where, like his masters, Wilde or Dowson, he was always attitudinising. The best of these sonnets are quite as compact and close-knit as Shakespeare's; quite as passionately and spontaneously sincere as Milton's; quite as elevated and strenuous as Wordsworth's. For he boldly discards the treatment of "bizarre emotions" or incomprehensible symbols, "seeking infinite measuring in a little gloom," like some of the mystics. His chief subjects were Love and Death—the two

great pre-occupations of youth, which dominate all others, possibly because they are the most mysterious and inexplicable phenomena in human life. If there is, in these poems, a touch of sentimentalism,—some ideas that hover on the borderland between the normal and the morbid, they are due to the spirit of the modern age, which is super-annuated. Leaving these occasional lapses, we will note that he has the pregnant phraseology of style which is a notable feature of contemporary poetry and also that desire to escape the galling fetters of the prose of life, so essential to the vitality of poetry. Certainly he could not distil the quintessence of beauty with the rare artistry of Keats, nor do we find in his poems anything approaching the psychological subtlety of Browning and Meredith. Yet the appeal of such sincerely simple poems as the sonnet "I said I splendidly loved you," or "I think if you had loved me when I wanted," or "Love is a breath in the walls"—such lines as these, I say, in their vitality of expression and sincerity of sentiment, must claim a high meed of praise. Occasionally they flare up into an imaginative splendour, which stirs our deepest feelings.

"Life is our cry. We have kept the faith!" we said;  
 "We shall go down with unreluctant head  
 Rose-crowned into the darkness!" etc., etc.

These belong to the immortal glories of poetry, and Rupert Brooke was capable of producing such lines.

His five war-sonnets are memorable. Poetry, when it is really great, is the inevitable expression of some exacting experience. Without this grip of reality, a fact's fancy wastes itself out in the instability of undisciplined excitement. But with it, the academic interest in the problem of life is charged with a passion that is vividly real. We see this illustrated in the war-poems of Brooke. There is sometimes painful self-consciousness in a pre-war poem like this—

"Oh ! Death will find me, long before I tire,  
 Of watching you and swing me suddenly,  
 Into the shade and loneliness and ruin  
 Of the lost land".

But there can be no doubt about the sincerity, and *therefore*, the poetry of such lines as these—

“War knows no power; safe shall be my going,  
Secretly argued against all death’s endeavour;  
Safe though all safety’s lost; safe where men fall,  
And if these poor limbs die, safest of all”.

Mr. Churchill’s eulogium seems up the characteristic of these incomparable war-sonnets, “During the last few months of his life,...the poet-soldier told with all the simple force of genius, the sorrow of youth about to die, and the sure triumphant consolations of a sincere valiant spirit.”

The bulk of the work of Rupert Brooke during his short career,—hardly as long as Shelley’s—is small; and the bulk of the really high-class work that he did is even smaller. But within that short compass he attained a convincing individuality of style, and a definite outlook on life;—two aspects which, harmoniously blended, are capable of performing great things. There can be no doubt that some of his sonnets like the one, “*Blow, boughs, blow,*” or “*If I must die*” etc., will rank with the masterpieces of Wordsworth. And the straightforward way in which he discarded the influence of the decadent phase of Astheticism in favour of “the spacious voice and serene utterance of old,” shows a power of self-criticism that is a certain index of poetic success. What Keats called, “the reperception and ratification of the fine” in one’s own writing is necessary for eliminating the mass of amorphous matter which congeals the free flow of poetry. Therefore, without making any extravagant claim for him based an invidious and irrelevant comparisons, we are entitled to hold that Rupert Brooke in his short poetical career, showed enough of artistic discrimination and imaginative discipline to justify us in placing him among the “inheritors of unfulfilled renown”.

DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH.

## HINDU NATIONAL EDUCATION.

It is needless to say that the present system of education in India has been condemned by a general consensus of opinions as inadequate, halting, imperfect, unsatisfactory and barren of high results. It is neither national making for the physical, intellectual, moral and religious advancement of the people nor practical and useful in the worldly sense, calculated to develop their material and economic prosperity. It tends more towards materialism than towards the material success and prosperity of the people. It was born at a time when our foreign rulers just arrived in the country and unable to learn the language of the people and unacquainted with their manners and customs, wanted numbers of English-knowing clerks to carry on the every day work of government in their (rulers') own tongue. The later generations of British Officers, following the example of their predecessors, continued to administer the affairs of the country through the medium of their own tongue and did not care to learn the language of the people and thus to make the administration popular and less costly. The ugly system of education devised in haste by the first comers has thus been perpetuated and contingents after contingents of English-knowing Babus fit only for serving their foreign masters have been turned out—the supply far exceeds the demand.

If in the process of turning out these Babus, a class of educated men who claim equal rights with the foreigners and are not willing to serve as mere Babus but aspire to high offices in the administration is turned out it is more an accident to be deeply regretted than an anticipated welcome result to be devoutly wished for. The system has been undermining for generations the physical, intellectual, moral and religious ideals of the people and making them a race of mental slaves fit only for service rather than for any other work of the Country. The orthodox Pandits have always been looking askance at it and entertaining very low opinion of its victims. The educational authorities—European

and Indian—have frequently criticised it in strong terms and recently the Sadler Commission has more than sufficiently exposed its defects and recommended altogether a new path to be trodden in this important matter. Proposals have therefore been made in every province to overhaul the present system and remodel the existing universities, but the remedy suggested is only a make-shift—bringing in only temporary relief—never causing a permanent cure. No education which is based on foreign ideals and imparted through a foreign medium can be satisfactory. A country that forgets its past glorious achievements, its lofty national ideals, its noble traditions and well-tried customs, cannot fulfil its destiny. None can deny that India has a lofty Mission to carry out, a high destiny to achieve, but these can hardly be accomplished so long as it remains a slave to the present system of education, so long as it does not introduce its own national system of education. A nation that does not feel pride in its glorious past and holds light its national ideals, cannot make its future bright, nor can it aspire to occupy a high place in the hierarchy of civilized nations. It is my intention to give in this short paper, an outline of the programme of national education according to my own light. I do not claim for it any perfection or even all-India suitability but if it could be of any use in evolving a better scheme, it will not have been written in vain.

The first question in regard to national education is, what is our national language? The question may perplex a reader for a moment but it can be satisfactorily answered. Inspite of a large variety of dialects prevailing in the country, *viz.*, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, Telgu, Kanari, Malayalam, Marhatti, Gujrati, &c. &c., the one language that forms the back-ground of all these dialects—the one inexhaustible source that feeds the currents of these multifarious streams is Sanskrit. It is the mother of all Indian dialects and is still alive. None can say that Sanskrit is a dead language. Even to-day, it is more extensively and widely known in India than English or any other Indian dialect. Every village in India has a number of Purohits, Astrologers, and Pujarees not to speak of others. Every town and every city has got Sanskrit-knowing men; for the religious and social ceremonies of the people cannot be performed without

them. Vedic mantras are to be recited in connection with every Hindu ceremony, auspicious days for social functions are to be found out in Sanskrit astrological calendars—horoscopes are to be cast and their merits pointed out by Sanskrit-knowing men. The daily religious performances are made in Sanskrit and in our numerous temples throughout India worship is performed by means of Sanskrit Mantras and *strotras*. Although these men do not possess any considerable knowledge of Sanskrit yet the number of well-educated Sanskrit Scholars among the Brahmins is not insignificant. If the knowledge of Sanskrit seems to be decadent or declining, it is owing to the lack of encouragement shown by an alien government. If it had one-twentieth part of the encouragement and support now being given to English language in India, the result would have been most remarkable. The alien government prides itself on the fact that it is through the unifying force of English language that it is possible for the people of all provinces and districts in India to meet and talk together in congresses, conferences and other religious and social gatherings but they forget or perhaps they do not know that such conferences can be held by the aid of Sanskrit language as well. In fact an all-India Conference of Sanskrit Pandits—called Sanskrit Sahitya Sammilan is held every year in important centres, and is attended by representatives from all provinces of India. In this Conference all proceedings are conducted in Sanskrit and Pandits from the extreme South to the extreme North or from extreme East to the extreme West exchange their views and discuss matters and pass their resolutions in Sanskrit. They speak Sanskrit as naturally and easily as our great political leaders speak English. If Sanskrit were the medium of education in all our Colleges and Schools throughout India with the provincial dialects as second languages the result would have been most remarkable and satisfactory. India would have been united in a real sense of the word, for all Hindu India acknowledges Sanskrit language and Sanskrit literature as its precious common heritage and all its religious, moral and social ideals and traditions are built upon them. Since Sanskrit is our common national language, it must *ipso facto* occupy a pre-eminent place in the scheme of our

national education. But it does not mean that all instructions will be given only through it. An important portion of Sanskrit literature, which could not be taught through any other language will be taught through Sanskrit, for instance Vedic and Vedantic studies or Dharma Shastras but all literature of moral, social, economic and historical character will be taught through the mother tongue of the people, in which all the important works of foreign languages will be translated and introduced to the public. The outstanding features of the national education will be (1) Sanskrit used as a medium for instruction in subjects, relating to religion, philosophy and spiritual matters and (2) the mother-tongue of the people of a province, used as a common medium of education for all moral, social, economic, industrial and commercial subjects. (3) Two other languages will also be taught as second languages, *viz.*, English and Hindi or Urdu as the case may be.

It may pertinently be asked why there is such a multiplicity of languages kept in the national programme. The answer is that of the four languages, all people receiving any education in Colleges and Schools at present have to deal with three languages, *viz.*, English, one Classical language Sanskrit or Persian and one provincial dialect. The scheme adds only one more language in view of the importance of national unity. In Bengal, Assam, all the parts of Southern India, Bombay, Maharastra, Gujrat, Sanskrit is the only classical language taken by the Hindus. In U. P. and Oudh, and Punjab, the classical languages taken by Hindus are either Sanskrit or Persian. In Behar and Orissa, Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces and Berar the classical language is mostly Sanskrit.

In all these provinces English is common and the dialects of the people are naturally known to them. Now the introduction of one more language will tend to unite the common people to a greater extent and will serve the national end.

Life of man on earth is not a mere frivolity—having no purpose in view. It must have some lofty object or objects to achieve. According to a Hindu, the achievement of four objects namely Dharma—religion, Artha—material prosperity, Kama—enjoyment of worldly pleasures and Moksha—salvation, is the

highest aim of life. Pendant to these main objects are four obligations—rather debts which he has to discharge and pay off. These are Deva-Rina—debt to Gods, Rishi Rina—debt to Rishis or holy sages, Pitri-Rina—debt to the great dead and Bhuta Rina—debt to the Animals, birds and other creatures of the world. A Hindu would consider his life wasted if he has not succeeded in attaining all or any of these four objects or paid off all or any of these four debts. His constant endeavour ought to be to achieve all these objects, and education must qualify him for this task.

Let us take these objects one by one and explain their significance.

**DHARMA** :—To know the secrets of the religion in which one is born—to faithfully carry out its injunctions, to perform its rites and ceremonies—its daily round of worship and prayers, to be well familiar with the great doctrines and fundamental truths held forth for the spiritual uplift of man and to be proud of its great leaders, and masters, and its greatness and superiority after studying its holy scriptures, is to attain the first object. To restrict one's study of one's own religion is not so good as to study all religions and find out their great fundamental truths. All religions are based on Truth and they produced great preachers, leaders, holy men and Mahatmas. All these are entitled to our respect and veneration. In religion, large-hearted toleration is an absolute necessity. Religion includes ethics and all those rules of conduct and life on which the building up of social fabric rests. Character-building is therefore a part of religion.

In our national education, this religious factor must form an important feature. Our present system of education is totally devoid of it.

**ARTHA—MATERIAL PROSPERITY** :—just as we require religion in our life, so we require material prosperity in this world.

All the legitimate means of earning our livelihood and maintaining ourselves and our family and attaining wealth for philanthropic purposes come under Artha—all trade, commerce, industries, professions and avocations are included in this idea, but none of our activities under Artha would be such as are discountenanced by our religion. They must all be based on the

sanction of religion. To earn livelihood by slaughtering animals or by selling their blood, flesh, bones, hides, &c., &c., is against religious sanction. Such trades are to be scrupulously avoided even if they bring wealth.

To study books on economics, commerce, industries and to have a practical training in their methods and apply oneself to all such technical and industrial education as aims at material progress and produces wealth is the object of the Arthic education. This most important factor in our present system of education is totally absent. If there is anything of it in it, it is of no practical value. In Western countries this sort of education predominates everywhere. Commercial, industrial scientific, technical and avocational education aims at producing wealth. It occupies a high place in the educational schemes of all European Universities. It is absolutely necessary that this sort of instruction and training should also form an important part of our education—without it, education is a sterile woman looking so beautiful but productive of nothing.

**KAMAIC ELEMENT** :—Man is not intended to be wholly religious or industrious but is also entitled to the enjoyments of the world so long as they do not militate against his religious injunctions. He cannot be a life-long religious devotee performing perpetual austerities or keeping fasts or to be perpetually engaged in laborious work for earning wealth. He claims to have a share in the thousand and one pleasures and enjoyments of the world.

Mirth and pleasure, ease and comfort, luxuries and sensual pleasures so long as they do not infringe upon the spirit of religion and morality, are intended for man. Debauchery, drinking, shooting, &c., being against religious injunctions are to be eschewed altogether.

The proper subjects of study that fall under Kamaic education relate to fine arts such as music, singing, painting, dramaturgy, poetry, dancing, sculpture and others of the 64 arts of the Hindus. It has been truly said by sage Bhartrihari :

“He who does not know music, poetry and arts is just like a beast having no tail and horns.”

Our present system is quite devoid of this kind of education.

Neither music, nor singing, nor painting, nor poetic composition, nor any other fine art enters into our curriculum which is dry and stiff like untanned leather. It being so, how can a man make his life cheerful and happy and bright and enjoy worldly pleasures in a refined and cultured manner.

Our national education must contain a Kamaic element. It needless to say that this education will be given when a student has been sufficiently instructed in Dharmic and Arthic subjects.

MOKSHA—The highest object of man is to attain salvation—emancipation from the innumerable evils and sufferings of the world—from the ceaseless migrations of births and deaths and to find a high resting place where perpetual unending eternal bliss exists. Not only this but he is to become a part of happiness himself. It is not easy to reach this goal. Efforts extending over innumerable births have to be made in view of this. Read the ancient holy writings of the Hindus and see what great efforts our forefathers were always making to attain it. The vision of this blissful goal was always before the eye of every one in ancient India. Men had to be imparted special teaching for this purpose but alas! it is thousand pities that our foreign education has totally swept away this goal from before the vision of our young men and hurled them headlong into the pit of scepticism and materialism.

Our national education must give an important place to this phase of education. All religions more or less prescribe methods of attaining salvation but in India there is a special branch of learning—a special science devoted to this subject only. This science is much—nay infinitely higher, loftier, and sublimer than our physical science which beats its wings in vain at the door of spiritual secrets. It is called Vedant—the end of Vedas—the final teaching of the Vedas.

When students have received sufficient instruction in religion, industrial and commercial subjects and fine arts, they should take to this highest part of education, for it is not intended for men of immature intellect and culture. For the proper cultivation of the Vedantic teaching, last two divisions of man's life called Vanaprastha and Sannyastha were kept apart but the teaching part was finished in the first stage of life—Brahma-

charya-Asram so that when the time for those two higher stages came, he might not have to begin this important study and waste unnecessary time.

The teachings of Vedant are principally contained in the Upanishads, Vedanta-sutras, Gitas and other similar works which have evoked raptures of admiration from Western Scholars as well.

If there is nothing of this sort of spiritual teaching in our colleges, then there is no national education.

Since our present system of education has none of the four elements already mentioned, it is justly condemned as a Rakshasi-Siksha. Our national education must have all these four objects in view, as well as the four obligations which as men we are called upon by our religion to pay off. Our first debt is towards gods. They superintend the working of the universe and devise measures for the evolution of the human race. Not only this, they spread their shields of protection over us and are intimately connected in our affairs—though invisible to our worldly eyes. We should make daily offerings to them—we should practice charity and alms-giving which ultimately go to them. The idea of gods behind the pious act of charity and alms-giving is not bad and we need not quarrel with it so long as it is a motive power behind these important moral and social acts.

The second debt that we owe, is one to Rishis—the holy sages of the hoary ages who discovered truth and wisdom for us. Without their experience, ours would have been insignificant; without their discoveries in truth, science, arts and civilization, we would have been barbarous. To the Hindus, the Rishis were the discoverers of the divine wisdom and knowledge of the Vedas—the holy scriptures older and greater than which there is none in the world. As grateful Hindus, we should discharge our debt to these holy sages by studying their works and profiting by their past experience.

The third obligation we have to discharge, relates to our forefathers. They represent the great dead of the past. They were the pioneers of the human race; it was they who worked to perpetuate the human race. They undertook to propagate

their species—they undertook to preserve their children by proper nourishment and parental care. Had they not shown their willingness to perpetuate their race or to bring up children by proper care and nourishment the human race would have been extinct and we would have been nowhere. We should be grateful to them and express our feeling of indebtedness by honouring their memory by proper acts of charity and philanthropy. Our orthodox way of perpetuating and honouring their memories is to perform monthly or yearly Sradhas for them. The Sradhas are nothing more than acts of voluntary piety and charity, for what is given with faith is Sradha.

The last debt we owe, is to the animal world. Animals, birds and other creatures always help man in more ways than one. The cow gives him milk; the bullock draws his plough; the horse draws his carriage and the beautiful little birds make his home and garden sweet by their sweet melodies and do him good in other ways.

Man would be ungrateful if he were not to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to them by supplying them with food and water, and looking to their other needs, if possible. He should always be kind and compassionate towards them and should not be cruel enough to kill and eat them.

All these four debts can be well paid off duly when we have been taught their importance in our School days. If our national education is based on the solid and firm ground of the four elements of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha, we shall have a keen consciousness to discharge these obligations.

The present system of education has none of these factors and cannot therefore fulfil the objects of man's life.

To sum up, our national education should be based on the four lofty objects of life, *i.e.*, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha and should as well include a consciousness of discharging the four great debts, that we owe to gods, holy sages, forefathers and animals, birds and other worldly creatures. Only an educational scheme comprising all these vital conceptions can come up to the level of national education.

## APPENDIX I.

## National Education (9 Years' Course)

## based on the

## I. FOUR MAIN OBJECTS OF LIFE

Dharma—2 years' Course (Religion)	Artha 3 years' Course (Material prosperity)	Kama—2 years' Course (Fine arts)	Moksha- 2 years' Course (Metaphysical and spiritual)
Theology	Mathematics	Music	Metaphysics
Ethics	Commerce	Singing	Spiritual Science
Sociology	Trade	Painting	Yoga
Law	Industries	Poetry	Vedanta
Politics	Technology	Dramaturgy	Philosophy of renunciation, etc., etc.
Hygiene	Practical Sciences	Dancing	
Eugenics	Agriculture	Science of sexual propagation	
Sanitation	Medicine	Aesthetics	
Rituals	Military Science		
Instruction	Professions		
Manners	Arts		
Etiquette	etc., etc.		

## 2. FOUR MAIN OBLIGATIONS OF LIFE

Deva Rina (Duty to God and Divine beings)	Rishi Rina (Duty to the discoverers of knowledge)	Pitri Rina (Duty to the great dead)	Bhut Rina (Duty to all other beings)
Devotion Worship Sacrifice Charity Alms-giving Philanthropy etc., etc.	Story of Scriptures. Acquisition of knowledge and wisdom. Advancement of same by further discoveries and writing of books.	Anniversaries of the dead. Voluntary gifts in their memory. Feeding the poor and helpless. Alms-giving. Perpetuation of race by procreation of progeny and properly nourishing, supporting, and educating it.	Doctrine of Ahimsa. Kindness and compassion towards all beings. Supplying food and water to animals, birds, etc. Their medical treatment and general protection.

## 3. LANGUAGES TO BE TAUGHT

Media of Instruction		Second Languages	
Sanskrit	Provincial dialect	English	Hindi (Where it is not a provincial dialect.)
Medium of important Dharmaic and Mokshaic instruction.	Medium of all Arthac and Kamaic instruction and also of general instruction in other subjects.		Urdu (Where Hindi forms the dialect)

(I) Note—(a) In the Panjab, Rajputana, Central India, Central Provinces and Berar, U. P. and Oudh and Behar and Orissa, Hindi would be considered a provincial dialect for education and Urdu would be recognized as second language.  
 (b) In Sindh, Bombay and Gujerat, Gujerati would be provincial dialect and Hindi as second language.  
 (c) In Maharashtra Country, Marhatti would be provincial dialect and Hindi as second language.

(d) In Madras and Deccan—Telugu, Tamil, Cannari and Malayalam would be provincial dialect for people speaking these dialects and Hindi as second language.

(e) In Bengal and Assam—Bengali would be provincial dialect and Hindi as second language.

(II) The above scheme of National Education pre-supposes a preparatory course of 4 years in National Primary Schools. The preparatory course consists of (1) general instruction in the provincial dialect enabling a boy to read and write accurately in his mother tongue; also a general knowledge of grammar and (2) a course in Sanskrit based on the following books:—Sabda Rupavali, Dhaturupavali, Srutbodh, Samaschakra, Laghu Kaumudi, Amarkosh and Hitopadesha.

## APPENDIX II.

The following syllabus as a suggestive course is given for each of the four classes:—

### I. DHARMA CLASS (2 YEARS' COURSE).

Manusmriti and Bhartrihari's Niti Satak in Sanskrit.

Tulsidas Ramayan  
Abridged edition of Mahabharat  
Bhagwat-puran. } In Provincial  
Dialect.

### POLITICS.

Recitations—Some selections from the Vedas as Purush Sukta and others.

Practical—Sandhya and Pranayam with intelligent knowledge of their meanings.

### 2. ARTHA CLASS (3 YEARS' COURSE).

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS:—Arithmetic, Geography, Modern commerce (A working knowledge of these subjects), Agriculture and Spinning and Weaving.

OPTIONAL SUBJECTS:—Any two of the following subjects:—  
Practical Sciences, Technology Industrial course, Economics, Professions, Arts and Crafts, Medicine, &c., &c.

All the instruction will be given through the provincial dialect, but selected portions of the Kautilya's Artha Shastra will be taught in Sanskrit as a compulsory subject.

### 3. KAMAIC CLASS (2 YEARS' COURSE).

**COMPULSORY** :—Poetry, Music with song and painting

For poetry the following books are recommended :—

Portions of Sahitya Darpan, in Sanskrit,

Meghduta of Kalidas in Sanskrit,

Sakuntala Natak in Sanskrit,

Bhartrihari's Sringar Satak in Sanskrit,

Behari's Satsahi in Hindi or in provincial dialect,

Dhanjay's Dasrupa in provincial dialect.

For Music with songs and painting, a general working knowledge on Scientific principles in provincial dialect.

**OPTIONAL SUBJECT** :—Any one of the following :—

Dancing, Sculpture, Sexual Science, Drama, Aesthetics, &c., &c.

### 4. MOKSHA CLASS (2 YEARS' COURSE).

Vedantsar, Bhagvat Gita and 10 Upanishads and Bhartrihari's Vairag Satak in Sanskrit.

Sankh Karik, Tark Sangrah, Yoga Darshan, first two chapters of Vedant Sutras with Sharirakbhasya and Yoga Vasistha in provincial dialect or Hindi.

**Note** :—In addition to the above, the two second languages English and Hindi or Urdu will continue to be taught simultaneously.

## A CHINESE TRAVELLER IN INDIA.

[It is rather unfortunate that the educated Indians are not familiar with any of those Chinese Travellers, who came to India, excepting Fahien, Hiuentsang and It-sing. We can cite for instance, the case of Wang Hiuen-t'se. He came to India immediately after Hiuen Tsang ; and twice again he visited Magadha. His accounts, therefore, amply supplement the account of Hiuen Tsang. We give in this article a translation of "Les Missions de Wang Hiuen-Ts'e Dans L'Inde" by Prof. Sylvain Levi, which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin 1900.]

The name of Wang Hiuen-Ts'e is not entirely unknown to Indologists. The Chinese notices on India, translated by Panthier and Stanislas Julien, have made known the adventures of that personage, who was a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, and who started as a simple carrier of official presents with an escort of 30 cavalry. He came in collision with a large army, and improvised himself as a diplomat and general, coalesced Tibet and Nepal against Hindustan, and took away a king of Magadha as a prisoner to his Emperor. Wang Hiuen-ts'e wrote his Memoirs, but they are now lost. The *Fa-iouen-tchou-lui*, the famous Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, has preserved some of its fragments. It was compiled by Tao-Chen, and finished in 668. It names amongst its authorities the *Tchoung-T'ientchou hing ki* — "Account of Voyage in Central India" by Wang Hiuen-ts'e divided into 10 chapters forming a single volume. Here and there in the book, the account is cited under slightly different titles :—

- (1) *Wang Hiuen-ts'e Hing tehoan* : "Recitation of the Voyage of Wang Hiuen-ts'e"
- (2) *Si-kono-hing tchuan* : "Account of the travel in the Western Kingdoms."
- (3) *Si-in hing tchoan* : "Account of the travels in the Western Country."

The Memoirs of Wang Hiuen-ts'e and of Hiuen Tsung served as the basis of an official compilation, namely, the *Si-in-tchi* (also called *Si-kono-tchi*) in 100 chapters, 60 Texts, 40 maps

and drawings, which was executed in 666. In the present paper, I have collected the quotations of Wang Hiuen-ts'e preserved by *Fa-iouen-tchou-lui*, putting together the informations which are connected with it. I translate also some extracts from *Si-in-tchi*, which may interest the Indologists. The rare remains of *Tchoung T'ien-tchon hing ki* make us regret all the more, the loss of the book. The author, charmed with wonders as Hiuen Tsang, had equally observed and noticed with precision; and less preoccupied with dogmas and theology, he visited as a statesman the courts and convents of India and the neighbouring countries.

Before he became the leader of a mission, Wang Hiuen-ts'e was attached as an assistant to the mission of Li I-piao, who started for India on the third month of the year 643. Li I-piao bore the high title of *Tch'aosan-la-fon* and of *Wei-wei*. Wang had previously performed the function of Prefect to Hoang-choci in the district of Ioung. The escort consisted only of 22 men. The mission had for its object the taking back of a Brahmin to India, who was the official guest of the Emperor; or according to the History of Tang, to carry to the King Harsa Ciladitya, a reply from the Emperor. The Brahman, most probably, was an ambassador of that Prince. After 9 months' travel, the mission arrived in Magadha in the 12th month of the year 643 A.D.

They sojourned in India for a pretty long time, engaged perhaps in some pious occupations. In 645, towards the end of the first month, they were at Rajagrha; climbed the Grdhra-kuta and left there an inscription. Fortnight later, they were at Mahabodhi and there too inscribed the souvenir of their travel. They passed by Nepal, either when coming or returning, where the King Narendradeva showed Li I-piao all through the country.(1)

When he was back to China, Wang Hiuen-ts'e did not delay in taking the route again to the West. As early as 646 (if the indication of *Ma Toan-lin* (2) is correct) Wang Hiuen-ts'e, who at that time received the title of "Chief of the Guard and the

(1) See my note on Chronology of Nepal, *Journal Asiatique* 1894.

(2) *Notice on India*, Translated by St. Jullian in *J. A.* 1847.

Record-Keeper" was charged to guide a mission to Magadha, with Tsiang Cheu-jeun as assistant, and an escort of 30 cavalry. But while he was *en route*, the King Harsa Ciladitya died. His minister *Na-fou-ti O-lo-na-choen* (3), who usurped the throne, broke off with China, and looked upon Wang Hiuen-ts'e as an enemy. The escort was massacred, the treasurers plundered; and the envoy and his assistant escaped under the cover of night. Nepal was not far off. Wang Hiuen-ts'e remembered the welcome that was accorded to the Li I-piao mission, of which he himself was a member. It was Narendra Deva, who was still reigning there. Beyond it was Tibet, the king of which Srong-tsang Gampo was an ally of China, because in 641, he had married a princess of the Imperial family. These two States lent their soldiers to Wang Hiuen-ts'e. At the head of 1200 Tibetans and 7000 Nepali cavalry, he rushed on against Magadha, defeated the Indian troops, swept away the capital, took the king prisoner and carried him triumphantly to China. Wang Hiuen-ts'e arrived with the captive in China in 648 in the 5th month, on the *Keng tsen* day.

The envoy who had carried out so many events so brilliantly, was promoted to the dignity of *Tch'ao-san-ta-fou*. Later when the Mausoleum of the Emperor T'ai-tsoung (died in 640) was constructed, the statute of *O-lo-na-choen* was erected on the avenue which led to the tomb, side by side, with the statues of Srong-tsang Gampo, the Kings of Kon-tche, of Kaotchang, etc.

*Translated by—PHANINDRA NATH BOSE*

(3) The conjecture that I have proposed (Jour. Asiat. 1892, p. 338) about the sense of *Na-fou-te* (Senapati) is to be abandoned. The character *Fou* which represents mute follows an *u* or *o*. *Fou-ti* cannot be "*Pati*". Moreover, the inscription reported by M. Chavannes (Revue Hist. des Religions, XXXIX, p. 28) confirms the exactitude of the form, which the *Annales des T'ang* gives, but it suggests another explanation. In the Title: *Po-lo-men ti na fou ti*, if the character *ti* follows *Po-lo-men* it has idiographic value and it must mean "Emperor of the Brahmans." It is, however, admissible that the same character, has, immediately after, in *Na-fou-te*, a simple phonetic value. It would be rash to choose between the two possible solutions:—1st.—The Emperor of the Brahmans, the Emperor of *Na-fou*, the king (*Kono-wang*) *O-lo-na-choen*; 2nd.—The king of the kingdom of *Ti-na-fou-ti* (*bhukti*?) of Brahmanas (of India) *O-lo-na-choen*.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

### A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

#### **Ghalib's Prose-letters.**

Ghalib's name as a poet has so much eclipsed his work and worth as a prose-writer that it is not often realised what great service he has rendered to Urdu prose and how eminent is the position occupied by him as a prose-writer. In the growth of a language it is a curious feature that progress in poetry always precedes advancement in prose. Humanity lisps as it were in numbers. The real strength of a literature, however, is often judged by the strength of its prose. Before Ghalib originated a simple, natural and fascinating style of Urdu prose, there was comparatively little of prose literature in the language except a few books of fiction or theology and the style in vogue was very artificial and unnecessarily encumbered with Arabic and Persian words. Ghalib has not, unfortunately, left for us any book in Urdu prose on a particular subject and all that we have is the collection of his letters, but even in these samples of his off-hand and effortless writing, he shines with a lustre peculiarly his own. He writes as he would speak. He addresses his correspondents as if he was talking to them face to face. He gives expression boldly and fearlessly to the innermost feelings of his heart. He expresses his opinions freely and frankly and calls for similar frankness in reply. There is a certain amount of flow and rhythm about his prose which is spontaneous and which is not easy for another to imitate, but on the whole, in spite of the lapse of more than half a century, his letters still stand as a model of Urdu prose and seem to be destined to hold that position for a long time to come. Among the best writers to-day there is none who can write a better-worded letter and in spite of the many changes and improvements which have taken place in the Urdu language and literature since the death of Ghalib, there is no essential difference between the style adopted by him and the style which is current to-day.

That he had consciously introduced this style as a much-

needed innovation, would appear from a letter of his to Mir Mahdi Hassan *Hajruh* in which he says : "All the wealth of 'Delhi in gold and pearls and jewellery has flowed into the 'Punjab as a result of the loot that followed the Mutiny, (but "this style of writing was my peculiar property). This "wealth has been looted by the cruel hands of a man from "Panipat who resides in the Ansari's quarter. However I bear "him no grudge for this loot. May God bless him". The allusion in this passage is to Mir Mahdi *Majruh*. It may appear that Ghalib may be referring to Hali who belonged to Panipat and lived in the Ansari Mohalla. Hali, however, in his *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* (page 159, second edition) interprets this passage as referring to *Majruh*. In fact both deserved such praise so far as their successful adoption of Ghalib's style in prose was concerned. It is clear from the high quality of the many prose works of Hali during the last years of his life that he had acquired a wonderful mastery over Urdu prose. He was not, however, the only one among Ghalib's pupils who successfully adopted and made popular the style of their great master, but the style was adopted and more or less successfully imitated by each one of his numerous disciples and thus became the most popular and fashionable style of his period. We find Sayed Ahmad Khan, one of the most brilliant of Delhi's distinguished sons, who afterwards became so famous as Sir Sayed of Aligarh, adopting the ideal of prose writing which had been introduced by Ghalib. In fact none of the great writers who rose into eminence after Ghalib, I mean men like M. Muhammad Husain *Azad* and M. Zaka Ulla, to mention a few only of the latter day celebrities of Delhi, could have possibly remained uninfluenced by Ghalib in the work which stands associated with their great names.

The *Urdu-i-Mualla* has been widely read and has passed through many editions. The edition that I am using for the purposes of this essay is a fairly decent one. I am sorry I have not seen the earliest edition that was brought out by the admirers of the author soon after his death. They knew how fond he was of seeing his books decently printed and neatly got up. That edition may or may not have approached the ideal,

but I have no hesitation in saying that for our generation an ideal edition of the *Urdu-i-Mualla* is still needed. The book should be as neatly and as correctly lithographed as possible, for the letters of Ghalib are valuable not only as models of good Urdu prose but they are precious also as the best introduction to the personality of the author himself. It is obvious that they do not represent anything like the bulk of all the letters that he ever wrote to his friends. They must certainly be only a portion of all that he wrote in this form. The two parts of the *Urdu-i-Mualla* have been supplemented by a number of letters from the same pen, which have been collected in a book called the *Ud-i-Hindi*. I have before me the edition of this book published at the Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore. This collection was made by one Muhammad Mumtaz Ali Khan and the edition before me is the fourth one of its kind and was published after 1913. This is not as well got up as the *Urdu-i-Mualla* of the Mujtabai Press though the latter too, could be improved upon.

I have not said anything above as to the historic value of these letters but it may safely be said that it is not inconsiderable. The information that we get in these letters about men and manners as they existed in Delhi in the middle and the latter part of the 19th century, the graphic descriptions they give us of some of the events of the Mutiny and the incidents following it, are valuable as they are, but the value will grow more and more as time advances. In this connection in fact the letters appear to me to be worth being translated into English to place the information available in them within the reach of those who do not know Urdu.

I now proceed to give some extracts from the letters of Ghalib to illustrate the points briefly alluded to above and to bring out the special characteristics of Ghalib as a writer and as a man.

In a letter to Tafta,\* Ghalib tells us in what light he regards the writing of letters to friends and the receiving of letters from them. He says: "Well, sir would you continue "to be cross or would you make peace with me. If you cannot

"get reconciled to me you should at least tell me the reason  
 "why you are cross. In my solitude I live chiefly on letters  
 "from friends. When I get a letter from a friend I take it to  
 "be as a visit from him. There is not a day on which I do not  
 "receive several letters from various directions. In fact on  
 "some day the postman brings my letters more than once, a  
 "few in the morning and a few in the evening. This keeps me  
 "busy as well as amused and I easily pass my day in enjoying  
 "their perusal and in having the pleasure of writing replies to  
 "them". In another letter† to the same gentleman Ghalib  
 explains some of his literary ideals, especially with regard to his  
 reluctance to indulge in exaggerations that were customary among  
 Eastern writers. It appears from that letter that Tafta must  
 have sent his book to Ghalib for a Review (*Taqriz*). Eastern  
 writers have had a practice of sending their books to their friends  
 for writing eulogistic notes on them and it was understood that  
 whether the friend to whom a book was submitted really thought  
 highly of the composition or not, he must write a review highly  
 praising the work which would be published along with the book  
 as a testimony of its excellence. People used therefore often to  
 write much undeserved praise on books submitted to them and  
 never thought that such an exaggeration would lower their own  
 reputation as literary critics in the eye of the public. The  
 public too understood this and attached little or no value to such  
 testimonials, a number of which we commonly find attached to  
 every published book independently of its merits. Ghalib tried  
 to combat this wrong notion and endeavoured to be moderate in  
 offering praise. It appears that he gave some mild praise to the  
 book submitted to him by Tafta, who thereupon complained to  
 him that he had not been treated kindly by him. It is in this  
 connection that Ghalib writes : "I cannot give up my principles.  
 I do not know that style of Indian writers of Persian in which  
 they begin to praise one like professional Bhats.\* Look at my  
*Qasidas*, you will find that the proportion of poetical flights on

†Page 68, edition 1899, *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

\*Bhats : A class of singers who committed to memory the genealogies of rich men and wove them into verses and on festive occasions came and recited those verses, giving at the same time highly coloured descriptions of the great deeds and exploits of the ancestors of the man praised. They did all this in the hope of getting a little money by way of charity and reward.

general subjects of a literary nature is much larger in them than the verses devoted to the eulogy of the person praised. The same principle I follow in my prose. Look at the *Taqriz* I wrote on the book of Nawab Mustafa Khan and see how small is the space devoted in it to his praise. See again the preface I wrote for the *Diwan* of Mirza Rahim-ud-Din *Haya* or look at the *Taqriz* I wrote at the instance of Mr. John Jacob on his edition of the *Diwan-i-Hafiz*. There is only one verse in praise of him and the rest of the writing, in prose, is on other interesting topics. I assure you if I had written a preface to a collection of poems of a prince I would not have given him more space than I have given to the praise of your work. If you knew this peculiarity of mine you would have regarded the praise that I have bestowed on your work as enough". This was a much-needed reform and considering the time at which it was introduced I think it was very brave of Ghalib to introduce it in defiance of the popular fashion of the time and at the risk of offending the authors, most of whom were his personal friends.

We have said something in the previous essay about the numerous pupils of Ghalib who wrote verses and submitted the same to him for criticism or improvement. A few words about this peculiar system in the East may not be out of place. It is as true of the East as of the West that a poet is born and not made, so far as the poet in the real sense of the term is concerned, but from very early times it has been customary in Persia and in India for well-to-do men of culture and others to have practise in writing verses and to assume poetical names and for this purpose to submit their verses to some well-known master of their time for correction. Except in the case of princes or noblemen who used either to fix stipends for this work or make occasional presents to their teachers of poetry, the majority of such pupils paid nothing to the master who corrected the verses of most of his pupils in order to encourage literary taste and to enlarge the number of his pupils, which was often regarded as a matter of pride. This entailed a large sacrifice of time and energy on the part of some of our great writers, for which a parallel can scarcely be found in the lives of their Western compeers. Ghalib in his conscientious desire to help his pupils

as much as possible, added much more to the ordinary heavy nature of this task by not only making corrections in the compositions submitted to him but by generally writing additional explanatory notes and directions in letters accompanying or following the corrected sheets. Some idea of this labour may be formed from a passage in his letter to Tafta\* "The verses "of *Rind* were corrected within a week after their arrival and "I made additional suggestions and useful notes thereon as I "usually do".

To give just a sample of the kind of help that he used to render to the better class of his pupils a portion of a letter to Tafta giving a detailed criticism of one of his *Qasidas* is given below :†

"Well done. What a nice *Qasida* you have written. The "continuity of sense and the simplicity of words are praise- "worthy. One of your lines coincides with a line of a verse "from *Shaukat* of *Bukhara*, that is *Chāk gardidamo az jaib* "badaman raftam. I think you may well be proud of your "thought having reached the same height as that of *Shaukat* "in this line but the line preceding this in your poem does not "come up to the corresponding line of *Shaukat*. I would have "been so glad if you had approached or excelled him in that "line also. I wish God may grant you so much of life as to "enable you to write a collection of *Qasidas* extending over some "three hundred pages, but we are not to collect *Qasidas* according "to the letters of the alphabet". This last advice is very significant. This clearly shows what a literary reformer Ghalib was. The old custom in this respect for poets was, if they were making a collection of *Ghazals*, to write *Ghazals* ending with every letter of the alphabet and to follow the same method in a collection of *Qasidas*. Ghalib realised that this must lead to artificiality. A man may find that he has nothing much to say which would give him a sufficient number of verses ending in a particular letter of the alphabet. The search for words ending in that letter and the effort to compose verses containing such words would lead him away from thoughts that might have

\*At page 64, *Urdu-i-Mualla*, edition of 1899.

†At page 51, *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

elevated his *Qasidas* to a high level. Versification of this kind would be a mere form without any life or soul in it. Ghalib therefore warns his friend that he should not aim at writing according to the letters of the alphabet but should try to compress more sense and thought in what he writes and to sing according to the inspiration of the moment. It is further noteworthy that his desire to confine the ambition of a profuse writer like Tafta to 20 *Qasidas* only was a hint that quality rather than quantity should be his aim. He meant to say that 300 pages of good verse were much better than a larger number of indifferent quality.

Like a good artist and a refined scholar with an established reputation he was very punctious about the correct printing of his works. He did not allow, so far as he could help it, a single mistake to be made in the copying or the printing of any of his books. From a letter\* to Tafta dated the 16th September, 1858, it appears that in a book of his the word *Nahib* got printed by mistake instead of some other word. Ghalib detected this while the book was still in the press but when a large number of forms had been printed off, he wrote at once to Tafta, under whose supervision the book was being published as follows:—"The "two leaves in which the word *Nahib* occurs may be removed and "corrected and other leaves substituted for them. It does not "matter whether such leaves number 400 or 500. Please get "them all changed and whatever expense is incurred for the "papers so wasted I will bear that. If this word stands as it is "the whole book will be disfigured and there will be a blot on my "name. It is an Arabic word. I had corrected it in the "manuscript. It seems to have escaped the eye of the litho- "graphist. I am dying of the *Nahib* (fear) of this word *Nahib* "and would like to have soon the information that it has been "corrected". He returns to the same topic in another letter† which need not be quoted, but which shows his anxiety in this behalf. It is painful to observe that in the publication of many of the works of such a writer, subsequent to his death, mistakes of printing have crept in to a large extent.

\*At pages, 60-61 of *Urdu-i-Mualla*, edition of 1899.

†Printed at page 86 of *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

His good taste was not confined to a desire for excellence of quality in literature and for its correct publication but he attached great value to the excellence of get-up also. There are numerous passages in his letters which show that he liked neatly and beautifully got up books and detested the absence of these features. Tafta once sent him two copies of a book of his called *Sunbalistan* which was badly printed. Ghalib instead of thanking him for this present wrote frankly showing his dislike of the get-up of the book. He said "you have wasted\* your money and also your composition and my corrections. What a bad copy of your verses this is. You could have understood what relation your verses bear to this bad copy of them, if you had been here in these days and had seen some of the unfortunate Begams from the old Royal fort going about in the streets, whose faces are beautiful as the full moon but whose clothes are dirty and shabby and whose shoes are torn. I am not exaggerating things when I use this simile but in truth I regard the *Sunbalistan* as a beautiful sweet-heart in an ugly dress".

In another passage in a letter addressed to Mir Mehdi *Majruh* we find an expression of a liking for neat printing and a dislike for the reverse. Ghalib says: "Good printing is done at Lucknow. Whosoever gets his Diwan printed there is elevated to the skies by praise and the beauty of calligraphy adorns his words but curse be on Delhi, its weather and its printing. Publishers here do not know how to mention the name of a writer properly. I have been carefully examining every copy as it was sent to me. The calligraphist used to send the copy to me through another man and now that the Diwan has been published and a copy of it has been presented to me as its author, I find that the mistakes are all there and the copyist never took the trouble to correct them. So I have had to add a list of corrections and shall have to purchase some copies of the book for distribution whether I like them or not. I will send you 3 copies for you and both of my other friends. I am not pleased with the book nor will you be". This very letter contains a curious passage to which attention may be drawn as a specimen of the way of thinking of those times and to show

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\*Letter dated 19th April, 1861, page 58 of *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

that Ghalib was too much of a poet to be a business man and that he considered it far from genteel to sell his own books. He writes : "You tell me that there are many people desirous of purchasing the book and that I should let you know the price. I am not a broker, a bookseller or the manager of a press. The owner of the Ahmadi Press, where it has been published, is Muhammad Hussain Khan. Its manager is Mirza Ammun Khan. The press is at Shahdara. The owner lives at Delhi in Kucha Rai Man. The price of the book is -/6/-, postage extra. You may give this information to intending purchasers who may send for any number of copies they may like by post. They may remit the price either in cash or in postage stamps to the above address. You and I have nothing to do with the matter".

The above extracts, though not uninteresting from a biographical point of view, were mainly possessed of literary interest. The majority of the letters, however have an autobiographic value and would have furnished material for an excellent biography if all the letters written by Ghalib had been preserved. If more of the letters had been forthcoming and if they had been arranged in their chronological order they might have furnished material for a life of Ghalib which could have compared favourably with Cross's life of George Elliot, which consists only of the letters of the eminent lady-novelist properly arranged.

I will now give, by way of illustration, extracts from some of the letters in which the author tells the story of his own life. A letter to Saif-ul-Haq *Sayyah* thus describes one of the sources of income on which Ghalib depended, for a long period, for his maintenance :\* "For 12 years the late Nawab Yusaf Ali Khan of Rampur used to send his verses to me and to send a draft for Rs. 100/- every month, but never asked me for a receipt for this money. He used to enclose the draft in his letter and he used occasionally to send a lump sum of Rs. 200/- or 250/- as a present. During the disturbed period following the Mutiny my income from the fort had vanished and the pension from the British Government had been stopped. It was through the kindness of the Nawab of Rampur who continued sending the fixed salary every month and other sums in addition that I and

my dependents managed to live in those days. The present Nawab, his successor, may God preserve him long, continues to send me my monthly salary as usual, though I do not know whether occasional gifts would continue or not".

In another letter† to the same friend, dated the 25th August, 1867, when he was nearing his end Ghalib tells a pathetic story of his growing disabilities and apologises for being unable to write to his friends as he used to do. He says: "I got both your letters but could not reply to them. Before now I used to write while lying in my bed. Now I cannot even do that. My hands tremble and eyesight is weak. There is no scribe in my employ. I can only get letters written now by a friend or a visitor to whom I dictate them. You must take me to be one on the eve of departure from this world. How can the newspaper men realise what I am reduced to. The two local papers, *Akmalul Akhbar* and *Ashraf-ul-Akhbar* know something about my present condition, as their editors are on visiting terms with me and I have asked them to publish a full statement about my difficulties and to request my correspondents not to expect from me either replies to letters or corrections of poems. They published this but no one seems to have paid any heed to my request. Letters are still pouring in from all sides followed by reminders for replies and verses are still sent to me to be corrected. I cannot cope with this work and I am put to shame. Old and decrepit, totally deaf and half blind, I am lying in bed like a block day and night". This very letter contains an allusion to the request which he seems to have received, times out of number, to be photographed and to send his photo to his friends. He writes: "An Indian Photographer who was a friend of mine has left this place. There is an Englishman who takes photographs but wherefrom can I find strength enough to get down from the upper story of my house and to get into a palanquin to go to his studio, to sit and wait on a chair for an hour or two and to return home alive after such a tedious process". His kind nature seems, however, to have found the persistent demands of his friends too hard to resist as he was after all photographed in his old age.

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†Page 16 of *Urdu-i-Mualla*, edition of 1899.

At the end of the letter above cited, Ghalib expresses tender sympathy with his friend in the loss of a child sustained by the latter about that time, saying : "I have learnt with great sorrow that you have lost your recently born son. Ask me what it is to lose a child. During the 74 years of my life I had seven children, boys as well as girls, none of whom lived to be older than 15 months. You are still young and need not despair. May God grant you patience to bear this loss and favour you with a better substitute for the lost one". In another letter\* to the same correspondent, bearing date 17th September, 1865, there is a reference to a book of the author called *Nama-i-Ghalib* (in Persian) which shows that notwithstanding his stinted means Ghalib could spend considerable sums in the service of literature. He writes : "I got 300 copies of the book printed at my own expense and distributed them far and wide. I cannot send you a copy of it because parcels are not taken by the Post Office on Sundays. I shall send you to-morrow all the copies that are left with me".

Another† letter to Saif-ul-Haq, dated the 17th June, 1866, might be produced to show Ghalib's fondness for fruit, particularly for mangoes. He used to get baskets full of them sent to him from various places. The frankness with which he accepted or rejected offers of such presents from friends is something refreshing to read about in these conventional days. He says : "I cannot think of anything which I can ask you to send me from Surat. What is there to be had which cannot be had here. I like mangoes, no doubt, very much, not less than grapes, but how can they reach here safely from Surat and Bombay. The Malda mangoes are known here as *Pewandi* and *Vilayati*. They are fine indeed and they would be finer still at Surat but it seems you would be going out of the way to send them from there to Delhi. The expense of sending mangoes worth a rupee would amount to about Rs. 4/- by the parcel post and even then perhaps 10 out of 100 will get here in a sound condition. Please give up the idea of sending me any. Delicious mangoes of various kinds can be had here in plenty. The Nawab

\*Page 21, *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

†Pages 23-24 of *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

of Rampur often sends presents of fine mangoes from his own garden. While I am writing I have just received two baskets of mangoes from a friend at Bareily. They have been opened in my presence but all except 83 out of 200 sent to me have become rotten." A specimen of a witty suggestion that mangoes may be sent to him may be added here. Once he was walking about with Bahadur Shah, the last Moghal Emperor, in a garden full of mangoe trees laden with very tempting fruit. He looked intently at the trees. The King asked what was he gazing at. He recited a Persian verse which says that there is no single fruit in the world which has not got on it the name and parentage of the person who is destined to enjoy it. Ghalib added that he was looking at the fruits to see if any of them bore his name on it. The King was very much amused at this humorous request and sent him a large quantity of different varieties of mangoes from the Royal garden. On another occasion Ghalib wrote a nice little poem on mangoes by way of thanks for mangoes sent to him. This poem is published in the Urdu *Diwan*.

Turning to another correspondent, M. Habib Ullah Khan, there is a letter addressed to him, dated the 15th February, 1867\*, full of autobiographic interest. It reads thus:—"You want to know something about me and the *Khilat* which I am entitled to. As regards my nationality I am a Turk belonging to the Saljuk dynasty. My grand-father came to India in the time of Shah Alam. The Mughal Government was then on its decline. He got into service as an officer with only 50 horsemen under him and with the distinction of *Naqqara* and *Nishan* and a fertile Parganah was given to him in lieu of the salary of his men and himself. After the death of Shah Alam there was an unsettled state of things and that Parganah was lost. My father, Abdulla Beg, then went and took service at Lucknow under Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula and thence went to Haidrabad where he served Nawab Nizam Ali Khan as a leader of 300 horse. He was employed for several years but owing to some dispute he lost that service and came to Alwar. He got into the employ of Raja Bakhtawar Singh of Alwar, where he eventually died, having been killed in a battle. I was then brought up by my

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\*Pages 28-29 of *Urdu-i-Mualla*.

uncle, Nasrulla Beg, who was Subedar of Akbarabad on behalf of the Marhattas. In 1806 the Subedar's jurisdiction changed into that of a Commissioner appointed by the British Government under General Lake. General Lake asked my uncle to get some recruits for the British Government. He got together a brigade of 400 cavalry men. He was to get Rs. 1,700/- a year as his personal allowance and a Jagir of more than a *lakh* of rupees per annum for life, but he suddenly died and the brigade was dispersed and some pension in cash was allowed to his heirs in lieu of the Jagir. That pension I am getting now. I was only 5 years of age when my father died and only 8 years old when I lost my uncle. I went to Calcutta in 1830 and got an interview with the Governor-General. I was given a *Khilat* of 7 pieces of cloth, a plumed head dress and a pearl necklace. Since then a *Khilat* of the same kind was always granted to me when there was a *Darbar* at Delhi. After the Mutiny my *Khilat* and my entry into the *Darbar* were both stopped on the ground that I was one of the associates of the late King Bahadur Shah. My application showing my innocence was then investigated and the trouble ended after 3 years and the usual *Khilat* was restored to me. This was a remnant of the estate which I had lost and not a reward for any service rendered by me". There is a passage in this very letter which repeats Ghalib's own description of his old age and may be quoted, as many of the details given in it were not mentioned in a similar extract already made from another letter. "In Urdu they speak of the age of 70 or 72 as an equivalent for dotage. I am now 73 years old and therefore more than a dotard. My memory now is as if it had never been. My hearing had become very dull long ago, but now the sense of hearing too has disappeared like my memory. For more than a month it has been usual for friends, who come to see me, to write down on paper whatever they have got to say after the usual salutations. My food is now next to nothing. In the morning I take a little of the water of pounded almonds mixed with sugar, at noon I take a little soup, in the evening 4 fried *kababs* and at bed time a little wine about five rupees in weight mixed with the same quantity of rose water. Thus you will see I am an absolutely useless old fogey dying

under the burden of sins". References to personal anecdotes in these letters are numerous and space does not permit me to give many more extracts under this heading. Persons interested in these anecdotes must read the book itself. I may, however, give one more passage dealing with an incident of Ghalib's life which is illustrative of the liberality with which literary men used to be rewarded by some Oriental rulers and the niggardliness with which some greedy courtiers of such rulers used to treat literary men.\* Writing to Tafta, Ghalib refers to one of his *Qasidas* which fetched him a reward of Rs. 5,000/-, which he unfortunately never received. He writes: "You have reminded me of a very old story, which has revived a sore spot in my heart. A *Qasida* was submitted through Munshi Muhammad Hussain to Roshan-ud-Daula and through the latter to Nawab Nasir-ud-Din Haidar of Lucknow. The Nawab ordered Rs. 5,000/- to be sent to me on the very day when the *Qasida* reached him. Muhammad Hussain, the middleman, never informed me of this order. The late Muzaffar-ud-Daula came to Delhi from Lucknow sometime after this and told me about it, but he asked me not to tell Muhammad Hussain that he had given me this information. I wrote to Shaikh Imam Bakhsh Nasikh to enquire what had been the fate of my *Qasida*. He wrote back in reply that a reward of Rs. 5,000/- had been given by the ruler of Lucknow, but Roshan-ud-Daula himself kept Rs. 3,000/- out of the sum and gave Rs. 2,000/- to Muhammad Hussain telling him to send Ghalib any sum that he liked out of Rs. 2,000/-. Nasikh enquired from me whether Muhammad Hussain had sent anything out of the sum to me. I replied that I had not received even five rupees out of the whole sum of Rs. 5,000/-. Nasikh on hearing this wrote to me again that I should write to him a letter stating that I did not know whether any reward for my *Qasida* had been given by the King and he promised that he would manage to place the letter before the King and to get the persons, who has taken my money to disgorge it. I wrote a letter to the above effect as desired and posted it; but on the 3rd day after the despatch of the letter I heard a report in Delhi that Nasir-ud-Din Haidar was dead.

You can see for yourself what could I do and what could be done by *Nasikh* after this misfortune." It is tragic indeed and typical of the disappointments which many a literary man in the East, who used to depend on the patronage of the royalty and nobility, has had to face. The day had not dawned yet when good literary work could find a market for itself in the country and when special patronage was to be replaced by the general patronage of the public at large. Things have improved considerably in this country since the days of Ghalib and there have been many among recent writers of Urdu, who have derived fairly good incomes from the publication of their writings; though their earnings can hardly come up even now to the level of those of the best modern writers in Western countries.

There is another passage which is too tempting to be left out. It possesses a peculiar interest for the Punjab University. There is a reference in Ghalib's letters to a Treasury Officer named Mr. Rattigan, who is described as engaged in writing a *Tazkira* of Urdu poets in English. I believe the gentleman alluded to is no other than the person who was afterwards called to the bar and became famous in this Province and throughout India as Sir William Rattigan and who for a long time guided the destinies of this University as its Vice-Chancellor. Ghalib writes : "I met Rattigan Sahib. He is writing in English\* a *Tazkira* of Indian poets and he asked me to help him. I have sent to him seven books which I borrowed from Zia-ud-Din Khan. Then he asked me to write for him an account of some living poets whom I know well personally. I have written for him an account of 16 living writers among whom may be mentioned Nawab Zia-ud-Din Ahmad Khan of Loharu, who writes good verses both in Persian and Urdu and styles himself as *Nayyar* in Persian and *Rakhshan* in Urdu, Nawab Mustafa *Hasrati* in Persian, and Munshi Hargopal Tafta. No translation of the Hindi or Persian verses will be included in the proposed compilation but only the name of the poet and of his literary master and the poet's address and residence and his *nom de plume*. Mr. Rattigan has now become the Judge of the Small Cause Court". In another letter Ghalib refers to Mr. Rattigan

again as having been transferred to the Punjab on the 19th January, 1865. I do not know whether the *Tazkira* spoken of as under compilation ever came out or not, but it is interesting to note that the versatile genius of Sir William Rattigan had not left the Urdu language and literature out of its sphere of activity.

I hope the few extracts of Ghalib's Urdu prose that I have given from his letters collected in the *Urdu-i-Mualla* will induce those who have not read the book before to study it. They will find it interesting as descriptive of Ghalib's personal experiences and useful as a model of elegant and simple prose.

Ghalib's letters show that before he died a fairly large number of English words had been introduced into the Urdu language, some without any change and some with slight modifications. Ghalib used those words but with the exception of this one indication of the influence of the West on Urdu, Ghalib's writings do not show any traces of contact with the West. His thoughts both in poetry and prose are essentially Eastern and are dressed in a purely Oriental garb. It is not till the writings of Syad Ahmad Khan and his co-workers like *Hali* and Nazir Ahmad came into existence that we see a distinct impress on Urdu of its contact with the English language and literature. This impress is gaining in depth and strength every day, in spite of a reaction against the domineering influence of Western culture which has already set in. Ghalib, however, lived at a time when purely Oriental culture retained all its best features and had not yielded to Western influences and may be regarded as the fittest representative of the old school of writers both in poetry and prose. A man of letters in the fullest sense of the word, he lived for literature and died serving its cause up to the very last days of his life. He died on the 15th February, 1869, and is resting near the sacred shrine of Sultan Nizam-ud-Din of Delhi, sharing that privilege with no less a personage than Amir Khusro.

ABDUL QADIR.

## THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

Lafcadio Hearn

Yone Noguchi, the famous Japanese poet, wrote : "Surely we could lose two or three battleships at Port Arthur rather than Lafcadio Hearn". It is a generous, but not an exaggerated opinion. Indeed, I would go further and claim that some day Hearn will be regarded in Japan not only as her most distinguished foreigner, but as one who will rank with that country's most famous men. He was more Japanese than the Japanese of to-day. He was a worthy survival of the pre-*Meiji* scholar and poet before Japan lost her religion, her exquisite courtesies, and adopted with avidity the industrialism and materialism of the West.

Since Hearn's death he has received the Order of the Rising Sun ; but in Japan, where he worked so long, or elsewhere, he has not fully come into his own. The supreme creative genius is international. Shakespeare and Cervantes, to take only two illustrious names, were not English or Spanish but citizens of the world. I do not claim for Hearn the distinction of the loftiest genius that makes the possessor a world-wide pleasure. Hearn will always appeal to the few rather than to the many, but even his warmest admirers have not plumbed the depths or scaled the heights of that strangely elusive writer. Perhaps we shall never attain that knowledge since the Japanese poet I have quoted has also observed that it would take another Lafcadio Hearn to understand Lafcadio Hearn.

If we study Hearn's portrait, we need not be familiar with the work of Lavater to realise that here was a man who had dreams, seen the horrible as well as the beautiful, and knew to the full the meaning of the Japanese phrase, *mono no aware zo shiru*, "the Ah-ness of things." Many ancients devoted their time to the discovery of the Philosopher's Stone, the one infallible object that would transmute common matter into gold. Hearn's quest was to transmute words into something finer than gold, something more precious and more beautiful than shining jewels. And because there was magic in his pen, he succeeded more completely than any other writer I know. So fine was

his craftsmanship that his sequence of words possesses the perfume of flowers, the hum of bees, the colour of a May morning, and what is still more remarkable, he was able to suggest the ethereal, the weird, the ghostly, in a way so peculiarly his own that it defies analysis.

A new posthumous book by Lafcadio Hearn\* has just been published, and it is a memorable event in the literary world. The material is entirely composed of contributions to various American Journals, and since a harvesting has been made from a similar source on more than one occasion, we must not expect to find in the present volume work that may be compared with *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, *Out of the East*, or *Japan: An Interpretation*. Hearn was so meticulous a writer—he was known as “Old Semicolon” before he came to Japan—that he would hardly have countenanced the republication of all his contributions to magazines without the possibility of revision. It is one of the penalties of the famous writer that when he is dead well-meaning but indiscreet people insist on publishing everything he wrote, even those unconsidered trifles he would have no desire to hand on to posterity. Fortunately there are no unconsidered trifles in the present volume, nothing that does not maintain, even if it does not increase, the writer’s fame. At the same time these stories and essays do not quite reach the high standard of Hearn’s best and most enduring work, while there is one contribution, to which I shall refer later, so out of date, from a historical point of view, as to prove almost negligible, apart from the beauty of its style.

The title-story, “Karma”, fills one with pleasant expectations and recalls that masterpiece, “By Force of Karma,” published in *Kokoro*. Unfortunately our expectations are not realised. Hearn is at his best in an Oriental setting. In the story before us the local colour is not Eastern, and his treatment is by no means characteristic of the work we associate with him. Indeed, it is so far from being typical that I forgot the writer, and was continually reminded of Henry James and Dostoieffsky. The story is a psychological study of a man who fell in love with one of those women who seem to reflect all women, like Mona

Liza or the heroine in Conrad's *Arrow of Gold* and Ibanez's *Mare Nostrum*. By way of proving his love she made the following demand : " *Write out for me a short history of your life;.....write down everything you feel you would not like me to know.*" Here was a problem that would have daunted a saint or an expert psychologist. Mr. Arnold Bennett has said somewhere that no man could shut himself up in his room for twenty-four hours, and during that time write down all his thoughts. Hearn does not evade the difficulties of such an undertaking. He is fully aware of the human desire to hide certain sins or to minimise certain follies. Step by step he reveals the mental and spiritual struggles of the lover : his hesitation, his withholding of a word that tells too much for his temporary peace of mind, too little if he must set down the truth, and finally, torn by anguish, the confession of his most unworthy act. Had Rousseau been asked to go through a similar ordeal, that timid, emotional, interesting but not completely self-revealing man would have succumbed to a heart attack long before he had completed his task. I venture to think that no man outside fiction could have done so.

Hearn sometimes overloads his essays with footnotes. Occasionally they creep almost to the top of the page, obscure the importance of the main theme, and certainly unduly distract the reader's attention. In his essay, "The First Muezzin", in the present volume, he has used a vast collection of material so well that it does not drop to the bottom of the page in a long shower of footnotes. The essay describes the Abyssinian Bilâl, who was the first to sing, in fine sonorous voice, the Mohammedan Call to Prayer. It is a scholarly work, rich in poetry and exquisite in style. Hearn has described the chanting of the *Adzân* with so much beauty and with so much sympathy that even those who are not of the East are thrilled by the singing of those stirring words that have greeted the dawn and the Moslem world from Bilâl's day until now.

"China and the Western World" probably awakened little adverse criticism when it was first published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1896; but to-day history has revealed so many momentous events that most of the essay is obsolete. It could

hardly have been otherwise since Hearn wrote the work before the Anglo-Japanese Alliance had been established, before the Chinese Republic came into existence, and before the Great War touched almost the whole world, shattered Russia, a country which Hearn thought would play so important a part in the Far East, and put back the clock of progress almost everywhere. Hearn was an idealist, but whether he would have remained one after the Great War it is hard to say. He believed in the friendly unity of East and West, and he clung most tenaciously to a universal brotherhood when we rose from "self-interest to self-annihilation".

The volume concludes with four Japanese fairy stories, and they are all written with the skill which we associate with Hearn's work. Whether he wrote a story, essay, lecture or letter: whether he wrote of goblins and fairies, the Japanese smile or Nirvana, the touch of a great artist was behind them all.

F. HADLAND DAVIS.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

### Recent Legal Literature.

1. *Leading Cases on the Hindu Law of Debts and Transfers.* By M. L. Agarwala, LL.D., (Lala Ram Narayan Lal, Law Publishers, Allahabad) 1922.
2. *Delegated Legislation.* By Cecil T. Carr, LL.D., (University Press, Cambridge) 1921.
3. *Training for the Public Profession of the Law.* By Alfred Reed. (Bulletin No. 15 of the Carnegie Foundation. 522 Fifth Avenue, New York. U. S. A.) 1921.
4. *The Code of Criminal Procedure.* By Guy P. Boys. Second Edition. Two Volumes (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad) 1922.
5. *Misdirection to Jury and Trial by Jury.* By Mr. Syed Anees Yussoof, Bar-at-Law, (The Patna Law Press Co., Patna) 1922.
6. *A Selection of Cases Illustrative of the Law of Contract.* By Courtney Stanhope Kenny, LL.D., (University Press, Cambridge) 1922.
7. *Trial of Nirmal Kanta Roy.* Edited by 'A Lawyer'. (P. R. Rama Iyai & Co., Madras) 1921.

S. *The Laws of Manu—A Summary in English.* By J. M. Macfie. (The 'Christian Literature Society, Madras) 1922.

The latest result of the indefatigable labours of Dr. M. L. Agarwala in the domain of legal literature is *Leading Cases on Hindu Law of Debts and Transfers*. Modelled on *Smith's Leading Cases* in its general scheme of selection and annotations, it is a highly useful work of reference and will be of great utility to our Judges and civil court practitioners. The number of cases referred to is nearly seventeen hundred and the number of citations exceeds four thousand. The notes are fully elucidative of the difficult points involved and the statement of law is precise and accurate. The volume is a meritorious contribution to the reference literature of Hindu Law and deserves wide circulation.

Dr. Cecil Carr's treatise called *Delegated Legislation* contains the substance of three lectures delivered at Cambridge in April, 1921. The first lecture was designed to show how much our laws, as nowadays made by Parliament, depend for their understanding and working upon laws to be subsequently made by somebody else. The second attempts to explain how administrative convenience and necessity have brought this situation about, and how far our liberties, if thereby imperilled can be protected by safeguards. The third deals with the form and publication of Statutory Rules and Orders and concludes with some observations on the historical development by which delegated legislation has replaced prerogative legislation. Altogether, within a small compass, Dr. Carr traverses a very large ground in a branch of legal study which has not yet been sufficiently explored. The book will be found useful by students of the subject of modern legislation.

Mr. Alfred Reed's work called *Training for the Public Profession of the Law* deals with the historical development of the subject and the principal contemporary problems of legal education in the United States, with some account of conditions of legal study in England and Canada. It is a typical American production modelled on German studies of especial subjects and is fairly exhaustive of the different branches of the topic it deals with. There is appended to it a select bibliography of the subject. The book will be found invaluable for reference by students of the problem of legal education.

Mr. G. P. Boys' edition of the *Code of Criminal Procedure* was the subject of a long and appreciative critique in the *Hindustan Review* on its first publication in 1914. We, therefore, welcome its appearance, duly

revised and thoroughly over-hauled, in a second edition. Its original plan, lucid arrangement, facility of reference, and various other conveniences so amply provided by the author, render this work a most notable contribution to the literature of our criminal adjective law, and the edition under notice, which not only preserves the many commendable features of its predecessor but has actually improved upon them, is likely to hold its own as the one commentary which, apart from the soundness of its contents, presents a mechanical symmetry and elaborate scheme which are alike original and meritorious.

Mr. Syed Anees Yussoof's *Misdirection to Jury and Trial by Jury* is not much of a systematic treatise as a digest of the case-law on the subjects it deals with. But the digest is cast in the form of a work intended for study and not necessarily compiled for reference. The statement of law is generally accurate and the book will be found useful by practitioners in criminal courts as also by our Judges. It would be well if the author would utilize the materials, he has made accessible, by systematizing them and working them up into a text-book which would be far more useful.

The late Mr. G. B. Finch, after long experience at the bar, accepted in Cambridge the duties of an academical teacher of law. Wishing to adopt the methods of the Harvard Law School, he published a collection of judicial decisions on the law of Contract. After his death, a second edition of this work was issued in 1896. It has long been out of print. It was therefore decided that the book should be made accessible in an abridged form. The new editor, Dr. Kenny, has been able to insert various cases that have been decided since the edition of 1896 was published and to introduce a chapter upon the Interpretation of Contracts. The book in its present form is about the best compendious sketch of the principles of the English law of contract, as illustrated by its leading cases.

The first volume of "Notable Indian Trials" series is devoted to the trial of Nirmalkanta Roy in the Calcutta High Court. The proceedings of this trial deservedly hold a high place in forensic literature and the book—containing as it does the full texts of the speeches of eminent Counsels—deserves a wide publicity in legal circles. It would be well if this volume was followed by others equally well edited.

To those who can not spare time to read Manu in original or in translation, in full, we would strongly commend the perusal of Mr. J. M. Macfie's *Laws of Manu: A summary in English*, which is a most excellent compendium. The editor's introduction and notes enhance its utility.

**Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.**

Mr. Robert Lynd, the well-known Irish Journalist, has brought together in *The Pleasures of Ignorance* (Grant Richards, Ltd., London, 1921) his relaxation-studies—studies which move with ease and *abandon* characteristic of a facile master of language and style. For the reviewer it has proved a sort of baffling work: he could not finish it within his usual 'book-time' for like the boy with the cherry cake he kept the cherry for the final morsel to draw the most enduring satisfaction. The book lay by the side of the bed every night unfinished, but it did him good when he finished his labours for the day with an essay from *The Pleasures of Ignorance*. It was Wordsworth, I think, who talked of the common little things like celandine and made them look as beautiful as the smiling morn. Mr. Lynd talks of spring in nature, of herrings and cats, of the Easter egg and the turf course plunger and polishing them up in his own inimitable style makes us see something new, something fresh and beautiful in these humdrum incidents of life. And the modulating rhythm of his prose joins with his enthusiastic love for purity and freshness in making his narrative virtually live and speak to us. He is at his best when he talks of birds and beasts, of flowers and spring—Nature's playmates; and he almost succeeded in convincing, despite our sceptic ignorance, that if 'one is going to get excited at all one may as well get excited about the colours and songs of birds as about most things'. The effortless ease and balance of expression tempts us to get excited over Mr. Lynd's Essays; but we will content our enthusiasm by asking the consciously ignorant people to learn from him their heritage of pleasure, and the knowing people to find from these pages how much pleasure they have missed in piling up dry-sticks of wisdom and knowledge.

It is difficult to praise too highly the posthumous book of essays *Toned Radicals and other Papers* by Walter Weyl, the distinguished founder and editor of the American *New Republic* (B. W. Huebsch, Inc., New York, 1921). The writer gives to us in these brilliant little contributions the best and the most sober American thought on world problems. Judiciously phrased and neatly worded the argument is always clear and lucid—it never sags because of the very simplicity of style which characterises Mr. Weyl's writings: a faculty which we are afraid very few Americans care to cultivate. The author possesses a shrewd reserve of buoyant optimism which would serve the impatient idealist as answer the cynical

iconoclast. He cautions the old tired radical of 50 years ago, now stereotyped into an unthinking bourgeoisie, against berating the new bewilderingly revolutionary vibrations in human society, for he firmly believes that the future of the world is in the hands of the youth,—“the mad hare that always skips o'er the meshes of good counsel, the cripple”. And Mr. Weyl courageously declares his faith in the tendencies that aim at the economic independence of the masses. We see the trend of his thought from the essay on the “Only True Revolutionary Class” clipped from an unfinished book and we regret all the more that the promise of such a rich harvest in ideals was cut short by untimely death. Mr. Weyl’s treatment of the Japanese question is broad-minded and appreciative and shows that a generous American can be scrupulously fair to an alien race which is supposed to threaten the integrity of his native country. Altogether an instructive collection representing the best American mind.

One who contains in him the lure of the jungle will feel irresistably attracted by Mrs. W. W. Baillie’s *Days and Nights of Shikar* (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, 1921). The wondrous tale of her experiences in the forests of India, her wanderings after a kill, her stirring record of escapes and successes—all these will bear a good night’s reading for the lover of Shikar and we will be surprised if the morning does not find him lovingly caress his old rifle and start planning his next trip. What is more striking is the nerve which Mrs. Baillie possessed, or possibly inherited. Alone and unattended save by occasionally faithful, but frequently timid and frightened, servants she went for tigers and panthers, bears and bisons. There are many tales here told which will bear repetition but nothing more thrilling than her trip with a lady friend. They had both fired from the safety of their respective *machans* at a huge clumsy bear who wouldn’t die and was going straight towards Louisa’s tree. Louisa had forgotten to re-load her rifle and was simply click-click’ing and then

“Some black thing was moving, just below : the head and shoulders of a bear appeared, he was climbing the tree, his great paw was extended and he was in the act of clawing on to her *machan* and the next moment would be clawing her.....There was no time to climb down and run to them, but there was just time to think that *sometimes* a rifle throws up, and remember that *sometimes* the patterns on a target go far afield of the bull, and above it.....I pulled my knees up, rested the rifle on them, got the bead on the bear’s shoulder as low as I

possibly could do, avoiding the forked branches—and there was not much room to spare now between Louisa and the bear—and fired. The bear dropped, where I could not see, and Louisa, to my relief, was still sitting upright in her *machan*'. Mrs. Baillie keeps our interest even where she failed and our appreciation of her courage increases as we read of the difficulties and inconveniences of a shoot and the cheerful resource, which only a woman can claim to possess, with which she triumphed over all her little troubles.

Mr. Syed Fakhruddin Aboobaker el Edroos of Surat has in his *Modern Indian Etiquette* (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay) handled with a commendable discrimination the customs, manners and usages which obtain in the mixed society of this country. The object of the book is to promote amity and good relations between Indians and Europeans and a perusal of this clear and clever little book will lead to the avoidance of many a social pitfall.

In his thoughtful studies called *Success* (Stanley Paul & Co., 31 Essex Street, Strand, London, 1921,) Lord Beaverbrook has produced a work which is equally suggestive and instructive. The essays cover a fairly wide range and deal with the various aspects of the problem of success 'n life. They are thought-provoking to a degree and a perusal of them is likely to encourage young men to betake themselves to lines of activity which may lead to the betterment of their prospects. It is a book which deserves attention.

We have now before us the fourth volume of the new edition of the works of Shakespeare which is being edited for the University Press, Cambridge, by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. We have already noticed in terms of appreciation the first three volumes and the fourth ("Measure for Measure") fully sustains the justly high reputation of the series for ripe scholarship and elucidation. When completed the Cambridge University Press edition of the greatest English dramatist will offer an almost ideal text enriched with the results of critical acumen of no mean order.

The reports of the trials of the Ali Brothers—as they are familiarly known—and of Lala Lajpat Rai scarcely belong to the domain of legal literature and we do not, therefore, review them as such. But each of the reports has got much element of popular interest. The proceedings of the first trial (which are compiled and published by Mr. R. V. Thadani, pleader Karachi) form a bulky volume, while those of Lala Lajpat Rai's trial are printed in a brochure issued by the *Tribune* Press, Lahore. But each of

these has many dramatic episodes and sensational incidents and both are likely to interest politically-minded Indians.

The ever-enterprising publishing firm of G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras have brought out with commendable promptitude *Prince Edward's Speeches in India*. The volume contains the full texts of all the speeches delivered by the Prince of Wales during his recent Indian tour and will be found useful alike for study and reference.

By bringing out Mr. J. M. Macfie's *Summary of the Mahabharata*, the Christian Literature Society for India (Madras) has rendered a notable service to the study and appreciation of the great Indian epic, the complete English translation of which covers three thick volumes. Mr. Macfie's *Summary* is lucid, comprehensive and interesting and the average student of the subject will find enough in his pages for all ordinary purposes. The value and utility of the volume are enhanced by reason of there being appended critical notes and a select bibliography.

Messrs W. Roberts and O. T. Faulkner of the Punjab Agricultural Department have put together a fairly comprehensive *Text-Book of Punjab Agriculture* (Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore) which is scientific and yet popular enough for the layman. It is well-arranged, systematic, sound and accurate and though confined to the Punjab, it will be found highly useful all over Upper India. We commend this book to students of Indian agriculture, who will find it indispensable.

*Nineteen Twenty One Illustrated* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1.) is an excellent, illustrated record and review of the notable achievements and events of the last year. It covers a very large range—political and social,—and brings into prominent relief the salient and striking episodes and incidents in various spheres of human activities during 1921. Altogether a very interesting work of reference, especially for its excellent illustrations.

Oswald Couldrey does not claim in his *Thames and Godavery* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1921) any rich merits of imaginative sheen and polish. He has seen India, the land where Godavery flows, and then Thames recalled him. The winding, tortuous flow of the two currents stimulated him to unravel the twists and turns of his poetic fancy and the result is a curiously blended collation as different in quality as varied in rhythm and in thought. A moment of scathing retrospection perhaps prompted him to dissect his own method of writing poetry in a piece entitled *The Worm Turns ; Or, the Poet Retorts* :—

“You think poetic numbers ought to flow  
 Easily as a stream, and rash as fire,  
 With Orphic gestures, and oracular swoon ?  
 Thomas, I’m loth to disillusion you,  
 Who never saw a poet at work before !  
 Dear simpleton, that red-hot lava-stream,  
 That rain of stars, and flowery conflagration,  
 Has to be cooked in timeless agony,  
 Derived, compressed, retorted, alchemised,  
 And lifted with Cyclopean weariness  
 Within the secret workshops of the mind,  
 Before it burst forth in its blood-red splendour  
 To shake the world.”

How very much like his own “derived, retorted, alchemised”, numbers ! And yet scattered amongst these inconsequent pages are lines of great beauty and strength. To Godaveri must be given the credit of simplifying the almost hectic complex of Mr. Couldrey’s fancy, and of straightening with a modulating tenderness the awkward turns in his thoughts. Despite the inevitable and grievous complaint of being an exile *A Grace* is a beautiful poem set in beautiful words. It opens :

“Pure alien loveliness of slope and sky,”

Perhaps another trip to Godaveri will bring out the maturer parts of his latent powers. There is unconscious humour at places which does credit to Mr. Couldrey’s gifts. Was he satirising Anglo-India when in the *Sonnet to Officialdom* he calls its votaries the ‘potted croton-tress That line the front verandah :—

“Near temples and bazaars they have no home,  
 But flourish in cantonments ; between these  
 You may transpose and shift them as you please,  
 Because they have no root in common loam.”

The Association Press (5 Russell Street, Calcutta) have just brought out new revised editions of two of their excellent publications—Dr. Whitehead’s *Village Gods of South India* in their “Religious Life of India” Series and Mr. E. P. Rice’s *History of Kanarese Literature* in their “Heritage of India” Series. Each of the volumes has been thoroughly recast and brought up-to-date, and will continue to be popular, as each of them is the work of an expert. Mr. Rice’s brilliant sketch of a distinct literary tradition is worthy

of wider recognition. Very few of the Indians outside South India know of the Kanarese thought and to such as derive the inspiration of their ideals from the past the beautiful but simple language of the ancient Kanarese Literature will convey a charm which will tempt them to look deeper for themselves into its history and development. Mr. Rice has done his work extraordinarily well, and in disclosing the content of an ancient literature has earned the gratitude of students of history and of thought.

Dr. and Mrs. S. Herbert have done a useful service in placing before us an English translation of Hans Fehlinger's *Sexual Life of Primitive People* (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1921). The translators claim that we can not rightly understand the modern sex problem unless we know its origin and gradual development. As an introduction to such study they present to us this little volume by Fehlinger. Without professing an omniscient faith in the doctrine of Evolution one can feel immensely interested in the ways and customs and bye-lanes of tradition among the folk we surname as 'primitive'. Anthropology as a science has come to the forefront as a corollary to evolution and many a crude conception as inhabits the mind of the layman has been shattered by a fuller understanding of the ways of our alleged ancestral types. Fehlinger has, for instance, attempted to dissolve the myth of the polygamous man. He contrives to prove in effect that amongst human beings the most primitive the state of permanent living together of one man and woman has always prevailed. One is not altogether convinced that the logical deduction would be the sub-conscious monogamous instinct, for the polygamous tendencies may be an acquired fruit of later civilisation because there can hardly be any doubt that monogamous living in man to-day is the result of suppression of instinct that has been branded as morally evil. Dr. Fehlinger's treatment is however stimulating and the translation done up carefully should prove very instructive and informative.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, the indefatigable and untiring friend of the poor has brought out in a book form his impressions of the coolie-exodus in Eastern Bengal in the fall of 1921. His versions of the terrible Chandpur episode have already appeared in print and in *The Oppression of the Poor* (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922)—a significant title—he adds a valuable Introduction. Mr. Andrews re-affirms his faith in the masses and believing as he does in the fundamental problem in India to be mainly economic he urges with a vehemence worthy of a warring prophet that the poor are already too much trodden under and further pressure will aggravate the revolu-

tionary symptoms already on the break at various junctures of social life in India. Chandpur supplies him with an apt illustration. Mr. Andrews' statement is well argued and deserves earnest consideration at the hands of both the rulers and the political pundits.

Prof. T. L. Vaswani is a prolific writer and in his two latest books *India in Chains* and *The Spirit and Struggle of Islam* (S. Ganesan, Madras, 1922) constructs his theory about the basic ills of the Indian polity which made the launching of Non-co-operation almost inevitable. Repression by the Governing powers when faced with this definite challenge to authority, was a foregone conclusion ; and in the opinion of Prof. Vaswani when Khilafat and Punjab—the two symbols of religious and individual freedom—are grievously ignored, test is being made of India's spirit and ideals. The rhetoric of the author is at times too confusing for fuller appreciation of the argument but regarded as political pamphlets, his opponents must show some degree of hot-headedness to dislodge him from his main thesis.

The publication by the National Literature Publishing Co., of Bombay of a symposium of World's opinion of *Mahatma Gandhi* is both timely and instructive. Appreciations from the pens of Lajpat Rai, Rev. J. H. Holmes, Col. Wedgewood, Prof. Gilbert Murray occupy a prominent place, and if no definite and conclusive estimate of Mr. Gandhi's powers emerges from these readings, it betokens the insuperable difficulty of appraising a personality that defies the law of average human normalcy and contains in himself the richest concentration of human powers and human ideals.

T. S. Hawkins in *The Soul of an Animal* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1921) enters a powerful plea in favour of our dumb bird and animal friends. The author has enjoyed of the bounty of Nature and found delight in understanding and valuing the friendship and affection of birds and animals. Numerous personal incidents and anecdotes illustrate our ignorance of the almost human side of the lives of the feathered and furred creation ; essential as is the need of recognition of the 'psychic side of their life' it is more urgent to press for a gentler, more humane treatment. Manifest cruelty like the Pigeon Shoot at Monte Carlo or the gathering of the egret plumes to adorn the feminine head deserve an emphatic condemnation. The people of India with their defined formula of faith, *Ahinsa*, will welcome the powerful support which Mr. Hawkins has given to the cause of the dumb brotherhood of creation. The book forms an interesting reading for all animal lovers and lovers of living creation.

*Paraguayans of To-day* edited by W. B. Parker (Hispanic Society of

America, 67 Great Russell Street, London, 1921) is one of the most interesting of the "South American of To-day" series, perhaps by reason of the geographical remoteness and almost tragic history of Paraguay. The subjects of the 123 biographies are drawn from all classes and professions and from all parts of the country. These men and women are fully representative of what is best in Paraguayan life and Paraguayan achievement. The book should prove an invaluable guide for all who are interested in Paraguay and her people.

The *Poultry Keeper's Vade-Mecum* by Edward Brown, F.L.S. (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1921) is of the handy series of booklets published for intelligent introduction of laymen to fruitful hobbies. For those who are just commencing to keep poultry this little book will prove of great use. The information given is up-to-date; varying methods of breeding are explained concisely and clearly; and numerous illustrations that accompany the text lighten the task of the reader. A very useful guide packed full of instruction.

In *Who told You That?* (Stanley Paul & Co., London, 1921) "Quex" of the *Evening News* tells some of the best and racy stories that make for laughter without being boisterous. This selection of short and neat witticisms is arranged in a happy manner and a few minutes with "Quex" will dissolve the gloomiest mood.

George Robey is the premier comedian of the London stage and a running narrative from his pen possesses more than ordinary interest. In *Thereby Hangs a Tale* (Grant Richards, Ltd., London, 1921) he has attempted, successfully some think, to outshine his stage popularity. Every page here breathes of the shrewd wit and neat though loud fun which the author himself possibly relishes in the relation of a happy tale. There is a big reserve of laughter to be drawn out of each little incident—no matter whether it is the charity performance or a special's beat, whether he is 'enveloped in hideous meshes of dampness' or 'smothered with coal dust', there is the inevitable but characteristic Robey-ian touch producing laughter and fun. Essentially a book for a day that is gloomy or when you feel you are down and out.

# The Hindustan Review

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BY  
Sachchidananda Sinha.

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## OURSELVES.

Difficulties of finance and management have forced upon us the choice between a complete stoppage and continuation of the *Review* on different and cheaper lines. It is a sad confession of disappointment but we desire to take the readers into our confidence and abide by their verdict. We will take another chance and it has been decided accordingly to convert *The Hindustan Review* into a quarterly—the numbers to be issued in October, January, April and July. The subscription remains the same as hitherto, *viz.*, Rs. 6/- for the year; but the Journal will be made more attractive by the introduction of a symposium of views of prominent publicists on current questions of the day, careful reviews by experts of important publications, editorial comments and various topical features. The *Review* has, through various difficulties, maintained its position as one of the leading monthlies in the country and it is hoped that as a quarterly it will continue to receive the support and patronage of the reading public. The first number of the quarterly will be issued on October 1. Unless we hear from our subscribers to the contrary, we shall take the liberty of assuming that they continue as subscribers.



## FROM THE DESK.

### Politics and Trade

It was one of the cherished illusions of the Victorian public life in England that politics was a game for a class of supermen, for men of enlightened and delicate culture, for members of the social top class. Trade was a low class affair; lucre—filthy lucre at that—deserved a contemptuous sneer, and a pursuit of money for money's sake an ignoble weakness inherently allied with common people. Every successive encroachment by the so-called commoners upon the top places of public governmental machinery was keenly resented and considered to be another step downwards. The conflict between trade and politics was complete as far as control was concerned. The western public life to-day tells an altogether different tale. The houses of legislature are packed full with men grown directly out of commerce and trade. Businessmen occupy the cabinet chairs and if a lack of technical faculty of governance prevents them from swopping the highest positions, they are conscious of being the real power behind the throne, the regulator and director of the policies of their nations. It is sufficient to name Hugo Stinnes and Rathenau in Germany, Incliffe, Geddes and Pirrie in England, Leboroux in France, Morgans and Rothschilds in America. What powerful financial interests direct the Lloyd Georgean policy of opportunism and makeshift in the matter of concessions and mandates is patent to every keen observer.

These remarks are significantly relevant when we place them alongside the mixed feelings that arise as we read of the great commercial deputation which waited upon the Viceroy last month ostensibly to emphasise the need for retrenchment and economy. By an extremely clear and adroit move Mr. C. W. Rhodes of the Bengal Chamber has succeeded in combining the hostile and unfriendly dispositions which were appearing amongst the various commercial organisations in the country. As is well-known the composition of the various Chambers is based upon racial interests—thanks to the exclusive and off-standish policy of European houses who were, and still are, to

a large extent, averse to associating with Indian fellow-commercialists on an equal footing. That a common platform of action has at length been devised portends serious misgivings for the future. Colour and race divided them before, but that such strong prejudices have been brushed aside under pressure of an appeal to the ego-centric motives of men, betrays, on the one hand, the shallow foundations of this alliance and on the other hand conveys a significant lesson. There is force in a frontal attack by capital—of all hues and complexions—which connotes a formidable combination, a sort of bulwark erected against disorder and turmoil, or may be against the mass desire for betterment and progress. The safety of 'vested' interests is alleged to be in danger and appeal is made to the selfish instincts of man to forget for the nonce his racial and national prejudices and stand up for the preservation and security of his cherished possessions. We do not wish to draw any inferences but the content of such a combination foretells of events beyond the ken of precise conclusion.

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#### A Note on Sino-Japanese Tangle

A distinguished Chinese friend sends us the following critique of recent happenings which we are sure will be read with interest :—

"If one were to collect together the political columns of all the European and American papers, say of to-day's date, and try to list the news according to the length of the paper devoted to each particular topic one could predict with confidence that the Pacific question would occupy the top position. There is nothing surprising in this prognosis. The journalist hacks of war-weary world live more than ever on sensations and the legacy of the late world war has provided them with new feeding grounds. The bogey of most puzzling and 'conflicting interests' is being slowly hatched for an hitherto calm and quiet territory euphemistically known as the Pacific Lands. The Washington Conference of November 1921 focussed the tendencies that had appeared on the surface. A clear cut crystallisation of aim and effect was

sought to be achieved, and it was piously hoped that a gathering together of the nationals obviously interested in the issues would evolve through talk and discussion a tangible basis of future enterprise in the Far East so far as Western Commerce was concerned. We know the achievements of the Conference, but it is not so clear how flat vapidities of an understanding like the Four-Power Pact can successfully conceal the conflict of motives and ambitions that is all but clear and open. A large amount of literature\* on the subject has been issued from the American Houses and it is interesting to trace at this stage—obviously a fluid and transitory one—the thoughts and ideals which have absorbed the attention of the writers. In Europe busy with its own specific maladies the subject has not been approached with any great degree of close attention, except perhaps in England with its far flung Empire and 'vital' interest in the East.

What is the main issue? Japan is slowly but surely building up a hegemony of powerful financial and commercial interest in China and Eastern Siberia. Her progress in this direction has been paralleled by her naval and military strength which stands behind any fear of aggressive interference from other foreign groups of "interest" in China. She allied herself with Great Britain in a treaty which rid her of the fear of Brittanic protest; and while guaranteeing the "integrity and independence" of China Japan proceeded to swallow up bit by bit of the tempting morsel spread before her. In this procedure she has followed the traditional practice of western diplomacy (*Cf.* England and Egypt or Morocco and France) and acknowledged in this practice her efficient pupilage. The Lansing Ishii Notes of 1917 was a further step in this direction and the recognition by United States of Japan's "special interest" in the

\**Cf.* Recent publications:—

*The New Japanese Peril.* By Sidney Osborne (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1921).

*What Japan Thinks.* Edited by K. K. Kawakami (The Macmillian Company, New York, 1921).

*The A, B, Cs of Disarmament and the Pacific Ocean.* By Arthur Bullard (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1921).

*China, The United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; The Twenty One Demands: Japan versus China; The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25th, 1915.* By G. Zay Wood (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1921).

*China After The War.* By Hsu Shih-Chang, President of the Republic of China (The Bureau of Economic Information, Peking, 1920).

free and independent domain of China betrays the unusual intrigue and cant rampant even in an acknowledged free democracy. Forestalling the advent of western exploiters *en masse* Japan has thus by adroit moves succeeded in enclosing the preserves for her own specific use. The prize boys of western capitalism are now kicking the stays and Northcliffe's recent epistolary warnings are indications of the growing resentment against the sheer intrepidity of Japan in shutting out the white man from any place on earth. Sidney Osborne in his *The New Japanese Peril* frankly confesses his anxiety for the supremacy of the white races and had had dreams of "the Senegalese ruling some day in Paris and the Bengalees or the Panjabi in London". The cry of "Save China!" has gone forth, Mr. Osborne thinks, not to advance selfish interests under the guise of a new crusade for right and justice, for, look, the West is prepared to make sacrifices and would exclude the Western Powers as much as Japan from interference in the internal affairs of China! Mr. Osborne is however discreetly silent about the internal affairs of countries under white domination where interference has been succeeded by protectorate to be in itself merged into a demesne. We can not discuss the pretentious claims of Japan without reference to the equally expansionist policy of the West which is now piously raising alarms at Japan's actions.

Arthur Bullard an American writer of some distinction is more sober and temperate. His analysis of issues before the Washington Conference, while not quite complete and exhaustive aims at a peace policy—a reduction in distrust and fear. He attempts to reconcile the so-called vital interests of the three Powers, Great Britain, America and Japan, and finds in the ultimate reasoning no serious conflict. He forgets however poor China—the victim of the rapacity of commercialism and High Finance. To Japan he gives the credit for her helplessness in view of her increasing population and legitimises, accordingly, her move for expansion. Mr. G. Zay Wood's books are very interesting in this connection for their subject matter must form the background of any discussion of Pacific problems and Japan. The data and facts are marshalled in full detail with accurate precision and judgment. His verdict against Japan in favour

of Chinese independence cannot be seriously questioned and the array of argument against British or American help towards the disintegration of China is masterly and well conceived. Dr. Kawakami's symposium of Japanese opinion is a reply in perfect *tu quo que style*. Japan frankly discusses the historical impact of western diplomacy against weaker peoples and finds excuse and valid reason in following similar course in face of an alternative which to her appears to be a sort of national extinction.

The question however remains that Chino-Japanese tangle appears as inscrutable and beyond comprehension as ever. Might and arms form still the basis of settlement and if western powers acutely feel their "vital interests" in the East seriously jeopardised there can be no solution except through actual conflict. Preparatory manoeuvres will perhaps be concealed under the wing of conferences and alliances but the ultimate decision still rests with the sword. Or perchance the victim may meanwhile gather up her scattered energy and throw out by some portentious gesture her unwelcome guests who are too greedy to live amicably and by agreement—a consummation which every well wisher of China and a lover of justice and equity will devoutly wish for. That signs of such awakening in Chinese people are not wanting is emphasised by the President of China, Hsu Shih-Chang, who has only recently been ejected from his high office by a military *coup*. In a singularly dispassionate survey he tells of the hopes and aspirations of his people. *China After the War* summarises the experience of the West during and after the world war and the President sounds the high note of economic regeneration as the only possible way of escape for his country. He is coldly sceptical of foreign interference and pleads for a breathing space for China's building up her shattered ideals in her own way through education, through industrial betterment and economic reforms."

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#### Darwinian "Species" (?)

Mr. A. Worsley, an old and valued contributor to *The Hindustan Review* sends the following communication, which we publish with great pleasure :—

"In his "Origin of Species" Darwin failed to define his thesis. Those who pointed out this omission were told that "everyone knows what species are". It was a matter of public notoriety, and did not demand proof or even definition. But when we turn to Prof. Bateson's recent public statements, such as that made on April 13 we must come to the conclusion that no one knows what species are, and that it will be some generations before anyone can find out, for he says that it rests with genetical experiment to determine their nature.

He tells us that mere fixity of characters does not, by itself, sanction the application of the name "species", but that true species have also "the power of forming hybrids more or less sterile when intercrossed". This definition would reduce the nomenclature of botany to a state of confusion. Some genera, which for some unknown reason possess the attribute demanded by Prof. Bateson, would retain most of their species. But some large genera would become monotypic, and others would be bereft of all their species. This complete bereavement could not, however, affect genera which are *now* monotypic, because it would be impossible to apply to them the test of inter-specific hybridization.

For instance, the genus *crinum* would retain many species because so many of its hybrids are sterile. But just the reverse would occur in *Narcissus*, which would perhaps lose all its species. Sexual questions would also arise, for, among the many *Hippeastrum* hybrids with which I have experimented all are fertile excepting only those raised on *H. aulicum*. Yet *H. aulicum*, as a male, raises fertile hybrids on the other species

When we treat of inter-generic hybrids, we find that, even here, sterility is not an invariable characteristic. In my garden *Elisena* and *Hymenocallis* produced a fertile hybrid\*. In fauna we have the fertile hybrid *Lepus Darwinii*, and also the Chilean Goat-sheep. Haeckel remarks that although the Chilean he-goat produces fertile hybrids on the Chilean sheep yet the ram and the she-goat of the same species cannot be recon-

Note.—Two other intergeneric hybrids have also passed through my hands, *i.e.* *Brunsvigia* and *Amaryllis*, and *Bravoa* and *Polianthes*. The former hybrid is also fertile, and its characters are fixed.

ciled in a genetic sense. He calls these "unessential circumstances in the sexual mingling."

If we fall back upon fixity of characters as the determinant of what are true species, we must remember that this fixity is neither absolute nor permanent. It seems to result from an association of characters, which all appear as though linked together, and all reappear together in the seedlings. But this condition will in time give way, and some variants appear. With careful selection, and a few generations of in-breeding, several distinct types may be produced from what appeared at one time to be a "good" species.

Fixity of characters is the best working criterion of species to those who realize that the study of organic life is not a static science. Species in this sense may not be mendelian species, but the term will have a meaning, and will find some counterpart in the world of our experience."

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WHIP.

This is the last issue of *The Hindustan Review* as a Monthly Journal. The next issue will appear on 1st October—its first number as Quarterly.

## INDIAN INDIA.

### I.

A correct measure of the intellectual slavery bred in us Indians, as the result of political serfdom, is furnished by our attitude towards Indian India. Instead of deriving satisfaction from the fact that something like one-third of our country (about 700,000 square miles) and one-fourth of the total population (about 70,000,000 persons) have managed to escape foreign domination, perhaps not entirely, but to a greater or smaller degree, many Indians show a disposition to imitate the foreigners and to decry and to belittle Indian rule.

It often happens, indeed, that the Indian critics go far beyond the alien critics, and can see no good in Indian India. They make out that the Rajas are inefficient, or indolent, or both, that they are no respectors of personal or political freedom and that the Indian States are, in consequence, back-waters of reaction.

### II.

I am the last person to pretend that Indian rule is perfect. It has its defects—and serious defects at that. I admit that the standard of administration in many places in Indian India is low, the rate of progress slow, and the sense of duty far from quick. These evils are partly the result of Indian indolence and inaptitude, and are partly due to the fact that, in the last instance, the Rajas are creatures of a system not of their own making.

In view of the so-called education which our Rajas, in their boyhood, are compelled to receive, I often wonder that a single one of them ever amounts to anything. Whether they attend the “Colleges”, maintained out of funds subscribed by Indian States but not, in any real sense, controlled by them, or study at home under a British tutor or governor, they come under the influence of persons who have little knowledge of Indian culture and less reverence for it—men who, as a general rule, have grown up in an atmosphere of racial arrogance and who insist

upon subordinating Indians at every turn. Love for hunting, sports, drinking, smoking and the like are more easily learned from them by the Rajas than consideration for their subjects and the art of just, humane, progressive administration.

Our people complain that modernised Indian Rulers are neglecting their States—that they are constantly running away to European capitals and there squandering money extorted from their subjects. To me it is a wonder that any of them does anything else. Does the education they receive teach them to love India and to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the improvement of the conditions in which their subjects live and work?

Some time ago a ruler who had been brought up under non-Indian tutors came of age and was invested with powers of administration. Shortly afterwards he gave a garden party to which he invited nobles and high officials. They all went there expecting that they would have the opportunity of getting acquainted with their sovereign. Imagine, therefore, their consternation when he came in leading a dog, and the whole time he was there would talk of nothing save the beauties and defects of creatures canine.

The Rajas are brought up and work under a system which gives them small chance to develop a sturdy sense of manhood or a conscientious conception of their personal responsibilities for the good governance of their State. The British Resident at an Indian Court, instead of fulfilling his original function and serving merely as a channel of communication between the Government to which he is accredited and his own, quite often constitutes himself into a super-Raja. He encourages the subjects of the Indian Ruler—especially the feudal barons and courtiers—to bring complaints to him against the state officials, and, sometimes with reason and sometimes quite arbitrarily, intervenes in their behalf. The Raja is, in any case, humiliated in the sight of the very men who should be taught to look up to him—to go to him for redress of their grievances.

Administration under such a duality of control can never attain the maximum of efficiency. Half the troubles in Indian India are attributable to the assumption by the Resident of

functions which, under existing treaties and undertakings, lie entirely outside his province, but which he arrogates to himself, with at least the tacit assent of his own Government.

### III.

Whatever the faults in Indian India, and whatever their causes, however, it must not be forgotten that it is only under Indian rule that the sons of the soil have the opportunity of rising to the highest office. No one has ever heard of an Indian occupying, in British India, the highest position under the Crown. Even the Governorship given to one Indian was not handed over to another when he resigned.

In Indian India, on the contrary, no post is too good to be given to an Indian. To a truly self-respecting people that one fact should outweigh all the disadvantages which may mar Indian rule.

So few non-Indians have occupied the position of Dewan in Indian India that it is possible to count their number upon the fingers of two hands. Public sentiment is, moreover, so opposed to such a procedure that the most slavish of Rajas dreads to take recourse to it. Unless I am mistaken, at the present moment not a single Dewan in any Indian State is a foreigner.

Such non-Indians—Europeans and Americans alike—as are employed in various parts of Indian India occupy the status of servants, and not of overlords. They may inwardly chafe against that position, and may occasionally act in a churlish manner. As, however, the standard of self-respect is rising, the Indian Rulers are more and more insisting upon their Western servants observing a more decorous mode of conduct, and it is becoming more and more difficult for them to exhibit bocishness.

The Rajas are, moreover, beginning to realize that the more foreigners they employ, the greater will be the chances of complications and meddling, and the less will be the credit to Indians for managing their own affairs. Such considerations are inducing them to resist, more and more, the suggestions made for the entertainment of non-Indians in their services.

I notice a new tendency even in respect of Indians borrowed from the British services. The Rajas know that if such men are to serve them loyally, they must be saved from the temptation of seeking to please the authorities in British India, which they are bound to do so long as their prospects lie there. The only manner in which that object can be achieved is to induce them to resign their posts in the British Indian services. As time goes on it is likely that the Rajas will more and more insist upon thus doing away with divided allegiance.

The question of honours presents a more complicated problem. The subjects and servants of the Indian Rulers have developed a strong *penchant* for British titles, and many of the Rajas actually help their servants and subjects to obtain such honours.

I am convinced that many a right has been given away by officials of Indian States because they hankered for British titles. Not until a sturdier sense of democracy has been developed in India—British as well as Indian—and the passion for title-hunting disappears, will this sort of temptation vanish.

To return, to the point at issue: Since in respect of its services Indian India is practically self-sufficing, except in isolated exceptions, it is saved the drain from which British India suffers. Salaries paid to officials remain within the State, or, in any case, within India.

There is, therefore, economic as well as political gain. Above all, the opportunity to rise to the highest post under the crown serves to stimulate the ambition of the youth in school and college.

#### IV.

The Indian glamourised with the West will say, however, that persons who work under a personal Ruler have no security of tenure, that they are liable at any moment to be thrust into the shadows, even exiled; and that at every turn they find themselves victims of an undisciplined will. As if rule by a bureaucracy, though supposedly impersonal, cannot be arbitrary! The only difference between the two is that a personal Ruler does not gild the pill, while the bureaucracy invariably does.

The one issues a mandate, the other camouflages the executive action under a section of the Penal Code, or an Ordinance of which any civilised government would be ashamed.

Persons are deprived of their freedom without charge or trial in British India, as well as in Indian India. In neither case is there the slightest pretence of ordinary legal process. Compared with the number of men kept in durance vile without charge or trial in British India, the number of those who have suffered from deportation and seizure of property in Indian India is a mere bagatelle.

## V.

Having been born in British India, I, for one, have always envied the subject of an Indian Ruler his ability to hold his head high and to be able to aspire to the premier post in his State. I have further envied him the opportunity of living in conditions, which, whether good, bad, or indifferent, have been created by Indians. If he has to smart under the lash of criticism for living, in some respects, in the dark ages, he also has the satisfaction of knowing that some of the obstacles which, in British India, are deemed insurmountable, have been surmounted in this or that part of Indian India.

Rather more than a generation ago, when the British administrators of British India were afraid to make education either free or compulsory, the Maharaja-Gaekwar of Baroda inaugurated such an experiment in a part of his State. That experiment having succeeded, the area was extended until it became practically co-extensive with the whole State.

At first the British administrators of British India made an attempt to belittle the success achieved; but time left them no choice but to follow—haltingly, I see—the Maharaja-Gaekwar's example.

While the British educational authorities in British India are continuing to handicap the educational and, through it, the general progress of the country by compelling our young men and women to acquire all higher education through the medium of a foreign tongue, which the best of them understand imperfectly, the Nizam of Hyderabad has initiated the experiment of

teaching, even in the University grade, through the medium of Urdu. For almost three years a corps of translators has been busy preparing the necessary text books to enable teaching to be carried on in the vernacular in the various sciences and arts. The experience gained during the first year's work is exceedingly promising.

The Indian Rulers of Indian India are able to inaugurate bold measures of social reform because, being themselves sons of the soil and possessing intimate knowledge of Indian conditions, they do not suffer from the handicaps imposed upon British administrators by blood and birth. That is the real reason why the British rulers of British India have largely contented themselves with looking upon the maintenance of law and order as the end of good governance, instead of merely a means to achieve rapid progress.

Take, for instance, the question of cow-killing. Although every British administrator of British India knows that the sacrifice of kine at the time of the Muslim festival of *Id* leads to breaches of peace which sometimes assume grave proportions, yet not one of them has had the courage to stem the evil at its source by prohibiting such sacrifice.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad however, possessed that courage. By a *Farman* (mandate) issued by him last year, he made the sacrifice of cows on the occasion of the *Id* a penal offence.

More than one Indian Ruler has, similarly, had the courage to pave the way for a better social order by interfering with marriage laws and customs, modifications which have still to be adopted in British India.

## VI.

Even in respect of purely administrative measures, the Indian Rulers of Indian India have, in some respects, set the pace for the British administrators of British India. The separation of the judicial and executive functions is a case in point.

For more than a generation the Indian National Congress

has been passing resolutions praying for that reform. Every Indian platform has echoed and re-echoed with that demand.

The British administrators of British India have, however, all along professed their inability to preserve tranquillity, or even to perform their revenue functions, if their collectors were robbed of their magisterial powers. And because of that timidity the system has, without doubt, ground down the poor, and justice has miscarried in no end of cases.

Some years ago the Maharajah of Baroda, though not brought up in a civilisation which is supposed to have conceived the idea of judicial independence, took away from his revenue officials all powers of criminal jurisdiction. Quite recently the Nizam of Hyderabad likewise demonstrated to the world that he could rule his extensive Dominions without recourse to such a device.

It is a matter of common knowledge that if scarcity comes, the occupants of Government land in Indian India are able to secure remissions of revenue much more easily than is the case in British India. In the one instance personal rule is elastic, in the other, bureaucratic rule is mechanical and relentless.

## VII.

Apart from considerations of social progress and administrative reform the Indian courts, which Indians have been systematically taught to depreciate, form a link with our past. The tradition of extending patronage to learning and art is still alive there.

It is to be feared that as the older generation of the Rajas is replaced by the product of the "Rajkumar Colleges" that tradition will languish, unless, of course, those institutions are placed under the charge of cultured Indians. The largess, often in the shape of stipends given to poets, literateurs, musicians, painters, and other artists, are being withdrawn or cut down, and the handicraftsmen are losing custom. Orders now go to the makers of French gew-gaws, to the Tottenham Court Road Cabinet-makers, and to Japanese silk manufacturers, instead of serving to stimulate Indian arts and home production.

Whatever may happen in the future, some day, when we cease to be intellectually servile, we shall thank our lucky stars for the survival of the Rajas, without whose patronage our culture may have perished.

### VIII.

In the scheme of future progress Indian India, it is to be hoped, will play as great a part as it has played in the conservation of our traditions. If its rulers will only take their duties seriously they may enable us to evolve institutions of self-government suited to our genius, since Indians in British India are not free to evolve such institutions.

Even if British India succeeds in winning *Swarajya*, it will be a *Swarajya* modelled upon a foreign pattern. There is, however, nothing to prevent any part of Indian India working out a scheme whereby the indigenous system of rule can be remodelled to suit modern exigencies.

ST. NIHAI SINGH.

## THE CONFLICT OF CULTURES IN INDIA.

Among the momentous problems affecting the well-being, nay the very existence, of India as a nation, the nature and extent of her relations towards western civilisation is the most vital. Many other matters, social, religious and economic, depend for their solution upon our attitude towards this all-absorbing problem. As Dr. Rabindranath Tagore declared in one of his recent lectures in Europe, "The greatest event of our century has been the meeting of the East and the West". This contact of the two civilisations is fraught with immense possibilities for the good of the world in the future if free and harmonious relations can be made to subsist between them.

This is not the first time in her history that India has come into contact with other nations beyond her borders with distinct cultures of their own. More than a thousand years before the Christian era, the Aryans extended their Colonies to the Dekhan and established intimate social and cultural relations with the Dravidians who had already evolved a distinct civilisation of their own. Then in the 4th century B. C. the invasion of Alexander brought India into contact with the Greeks, whose forms of life and art left some traces on Aryan culture, which in its turn influenced Greek philosophy and science to a considerable extent. The influence of Buddhism with its characteristic doctrines and ethical principles, on the social life and artistic development of the Hindus has been pervasive and inestimable. Later on, the invasions of some of the nomadic tribes from central and western Asia, like the Bactrians, the Parthians, the Kushans under Kanishka, and the white Huns, who conquered territories and settled themselves in Northern India, were not without lasting effects on the country, though they became Aryanised completely and were merged among the people. The next momentous event that in many respects stirred Indian society to its very depths has been the Musalman rule that extended through many centuries. Thus we see that the stream of Hindu culture has received many tributaries and currents from other sources that have enriched Indian life, shaped its

character, and determined the various activities of its full and surging life.

But no influence in the past has been so profound and far-reaching as that produced by western civilisation on Indian life and thought during the last nearly two centuries. Alien in form and spirit, and fundamentally differing from Hindu civilisation in many of its essential features, still the civilisation of the West has deeply agitated the waters of Indian life and penetrated to our very homes to an unprecedented extent. But whereas the former conquering races quietly settled down to peaceful occupations among the children of the soil, and threw in their lot and identified their interests and fortunes with the natives of the country, the representatives of European culture have throughout maintained an attitude of aloofness and scrupulously kept themselves away from all social contact with the people.

'Western civilisation' is a vague and comprehensive term, embracing as it does the cultures of different nations of Europe and America differing in many respects from one another. Unlike China, Japan, Persia and Turkey, which has received their impact from western civilisation as free and independent nations, India has made her acquaintance with it mainly through the British, who gradually acquired the country and constituted a ruling caste by themselves. Such an unequal political relationship, between the dominant rulers and the subservient ruled, has not been quite conducive to call forth the best traits in their character nor productive of the happiest results.

In the dissemination of western civilisation in India different agencies have been at work with often conflicting aims and objects, *viz.* the cross, the trade and the flag. More than all these, English education has exerted the most radical and profound influence on the men and women of all ages and ranks in life, by implanting English ideas and ideals in their minds and supplanting their faith in the indigenous and traditional forms of culture.

Modern history furnishes several instances in which European nations have, by their conquest or trade, attempted to introduce their civilisation among primitive savage or semi-

savage tribes. But in India we have an example of a young and virile civilisation imposed from without upon an ancient and advanced culture differing from it in many essential and vital respects, the latter being looked upon as an effete and worn-out system by the prejudiced and unsympathetic foreigners.

Another unfavourable feature of this contact has been the fact that it commenced at a time when our national life and activity was at a very low ebb. Ever since the break up of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb, there was no central political authority or unifying force. The people of different Kingdoms were disunited and in a state of civil war, the social life was disorganised and the country had fallen a prey to the ravages of marauding tribes from Central Asia. In a word, the whole country was "wrapped in a crust of inertia." Such a state of turmoil and disorder facilitated not only the political conquest of the country by the British, but encouraged their attempt to bring about the gradual cultural conquest of the people.

## II.

We should not lose sight of the fact that western civilisation is a very recent product, barely three centuries old, and that it looms unduly large before our eyes chiefly on account of the dominant political position occupied by some of the European nations in the modern world.

Ever since the French Revolution, the spirit of Individualism has been a marked feature of European social life. The recognition of the dignity and worth of man as man, and the need for the development of the best and noblest in each individual by giving equal opportunities to all, have been the basis of the democratic movements of modern days. But by being often pushed to its extreme limits, it has taken the undesirable and unsocial form of "Each for himself and let the devil take the hindmost."

Apparently in conflict with this individualistic spirit is the Cult of Nationalism that has been sedulously promoted and propagated in the West during the last century. Patriotism or the desire to serve one's own country is good in itself but

becomes unhealthy and pernicious when it is blindly fostered at the cost and to the prejudice of other people as was the case in Germany before the late war. Different nations vie with one another in strengthening their national power and gratifying their racial pride and ambitions.

The laudable desire to maintain their national freedom and independence has led to the enormous increase in the military strength and resources of the different western nations. Their reliance on the efficacy of force has resulted in the building up of large armies, navies, submarines, aircraft and other forces of defensive or destructive warfare. The Militarism of Germany was only an extreme manifestation of a social disease that has deeply affected the body politic of the different peoples of the west to the detriment of the peace of the world.

As a fitting counterpart to this political ideal, western thinkers have gladly accepted the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest as the normal and cardinal principles guiding their social life and activity. A social philosophy, "the wriggling tentacles of a cold-blooded utilitarianism", that countenances competition, conflict and rivalry as the healthy bond of relationship between man and man, and that has little room for mutual co-operation and service and sacrifice in its ethical code, must logically consign the weakest to the wall.

Their outlook on life is essentially materialistic. Worldly happiness and enjoyment is the aim and goal of their lives, on which religion has little tangible influence. Of course there are among them many pious, religious and god-fearing men; but the average man is sceptical and only bent upon making the most of this life. His life is too busy and restless to think of extra-mundane things.

From the early ages, as the oriental mind turned inwards to conquer the self and seek repose of soul, so the thinkers of the west turned outward to conquer external nature and yoke her to minister to the needs of man. To unravel the mysteries and unlock the secrets underlying the forces and phenomena of nature and explain the laws governing them, have been their determined aim.

The triumph of man over nature was utilised for the development of art and industry in the West. Many useful discoveries and inventions followed in the wake of the application of steam to aid human labour. Huge labour-saving machines, cheap production and easier means of communication, mastery over the land, sea and air, have revolutionised modern conditions of life, whereas the organisation of society on an industrial basis has brought in its train untold evils and miseries that we witness to-day.

The industrial development of those nations has as a corollary led to the subjugation and exploitation of weaker countries and peoples to furnish them with the raw materials they require and to serve as markets for the sale of their manufactured products. This aggressive commercial spirit of western civilisation with its scramble for the natural wealth of other lands, has made those nations neither benevolent nor disinterested, but ruthless in their dealings with the coloured races.

Western civilisation has much to its credit of which it can be proud. Some of its principles are noble and its aims high. Its scientific achievements are marvellous; its industrial development and commercial expansion have exceeded all previous expectations. It has tried to promote popular education, sanitation and higher standards of living among the people. But unless they are also inspired by a noble enthusiasm to honestly help their weaker and darker brethren, the utilisation of their strength and power will be like that of a clay-giant, and the future history of the world does not promise to be bright or peaceful.

### III.

The influence of such a powerful civilisation on Indian life and thought has been very deep and wide-spread. But like all disquieting and tumultuous movements, its effect has been neither wholly good nor wholly bad, but of a mixed character. Its chief salutary effect has been to rouse the people from their state of indifference and inertia that characterised our society for a long time, and to awaken in them a new life and widened outlook on the world and its problems, that we sorely needed. On the other

hand, the unfortunate result of its being thrust on us has been that it has acted as a crushing weight and burden on the Indian soul that it can scarcely support. We cannot deny that on the whole this western influence has produced a denationalising and devitalising effect on the mind and character of the educated classes among our people.

The British type of western civilisation has given to India a new political life and consciousness that was absent for many a long day. The spirit of national unity and progress, that had been to a great extent realised in the glorious days of Asoka, Samudragupta, Vikrama, Harsha, Akbar and Sivaji, is once more passing through the length and breadth of the land creating in her children the vision of a rejuvenated Bharatavarsha with a more glorious destiny opening out before her. Moreover, new ideas of freedom and liberty, responsible and representative government, which are characteristic of modern governments in the west, have given a strong impetus to the political life and movement in the country.

Even more momentous changes have taken place during the last fifty years in the social life and ideals of the Indian people than in other directions. It should never be forgotten that the social institutions and usages of a people are the physical body in which the racial soul is preserved, and any violent and untoward changes in them will surely endanger the life of the body social itself. Yet who can deny that western civilisation has in the main exercised a disintegrating influence and given a rude shock to the social balance of the people? The communal spirit and sentiment, so deeply ingrained in the hearts of the people, has been invaded by the individualistic tendency of the west as seen in the modern desire of many people to break up the age-long and binding joint-family system. The rigid caste-system, the source of endless irritation and ill-feeling even in former times, has broken to pieces, and the lower classes have been imbued with a new sense of their position, their rights and importance in the social scheme. Even the proverbially docile Indian woman's voice is occasionally heard above the general din crying for her votes and her rights. The village community life, strong and self-contained with its autonomous village

panchayats, whose vigorous existence gave stability to the communal life of the people through the vicissitudes of ages, has for varied reasons undergone a disintegrating change and is but a shadow of its former self. Such an unsettled and convulsed social state, without any coherent guiding principles of action, can scarcely contribute to the peace or happiness of the people.

The contact with the West has also rendered India, a proverbially wealthy country for ages, one of the poorest on the face of the earth. Whereas economically she was self-contained and self-sufficient before, her dependence on western countries even for the necessities of life, not to speak of the luxuries, has become considerably greater. Whereas agricultural products and various industries contributed in an equal measure to her material prosperity till a century ago, she has become more and more an exporter of raw products to the industrially organised countries of the west, her own cottage industries, especially her world-renowned textile and fast-dyed products and other articles of her highly skilled artisans and craftsmen having lamentably perished as a result of the unequal competition with the western countries. In some of the large industrial centres like Bombay with its huge mills and factories, many of the troubles, misery and squalor of the industrial West, are gradually repeating themselves. Even our simple ideal of life has partly given away before the attack of the vain luxuries and costly equipments of western mode of life.

Side by side this social and aesthetic perversion, the most baneful effect of the materialistic civilisation of the West has been observable on the religious character of the people. From time immemorial the Hindus have been an essentially spiritual people, religion having been the basis of their social life and institutions. The bonds of corporate life and action have always been inspired by a true religious spirit. Yet who will dare deny that at the present day that firm religious conviction has been replaced by a morbid air of scepticism and indifference, and that the inborn feeling of piety and reverence, the faith in sacred ceremonies and rituals so characteristic of the Hindus, have been undermined by a demoralising sense of apathy and supineness in this most vital of all matters, especially among the educated

classes? Let us clearly bear in mind that if this cankerous spirit is allowed to persist any longer, our racial soul would be corrupted beyond redemption and the day of our national suicide would not be far off.

Much of this extensive influence of western civilisation on Indian life and thought has been facilitated by the diffusion of English education in India. We frankly admit that the opening up of the treasures of English language and literature has had a stimulating and awakening effect on the minds of the people and has given a new impetus to the literature and journalism of some of the vernaculars of the country. But for more than half a century, the exclusive study of western literature had led to the woeful neglect of our vernaculars, and it is only recently that there has been a turn of the tide; and let us hope that the literatures of our country, stimulated and enriched by the new elements from the west, will make rapid progress towards a fuller and freer expression of our national spirit. At the same time we have come to realise that the system of education has not been altogether successful nor its results wholly beneficial. The fundamental error consists in divorcing from our education the national ideals and cultural traditions of the people, and confining it mainly to western literature, history and science, with the result that it has not contributed to the fostering of creative power and originality, nor to self-reliance and the productive wealth of the country. The sooner the educational system is altered so as to bring it into harmony with our national culture and thought, the better for the future progress of the country.

#### IV.

India has been passing through the transition stage for the last half a century and is now at the parting of the ways. The question has often been asked, 'Can India remain in a state of splendid isolation from the western world'? We might with some confidence answer that such a state is neither possible nor desirable in the best interests of the country and the world. We do not ignore the fact that there are two schools of thought at present in this country concerning this vital problem, *viz.*, those

centred round the ideals of the two great prophets Gandhi and Tagore. The one would avoid all contagion from the west if possible; the other strives for a wholesome welding of the two cultures, though their ultimate aim is identical, *i.e.*, the regeneration of the motherland.

Our past attitude towards western civilisation has passed through various phases. We began with a blind and undue admiration of everything occidental and with an equally foolish depreciation of everything Indian, which led to a slavish imitation of the European ways and modes of life. European life became the 'beau ideal' of their homage and inspiration. It became the fashion to compare and judge the worth of Indian ideals and institutions with those in the West and invariably give the palm of superiority to the western products. Mill and Morley, Huxley and Spencer became their prophets to live and swear by. Such a pernicious attitude in the past has naturally led to the violent reaction in the country now led by Mahatma Gandhi. But to the bringing about of this disillusionment such true and far-sighted Teachers as Dayananda, Vivekananda, Tilak and others have contributed a great deal. We should be able to respect western civilisation without going into raptures over it, to appreciate differences between the two cultures without harbouring any ill-feeling towards the foreign.

While recognising essential differences between the aims and ideals of the two cultures, we should bear in mind that we are the inheritors of one of the oldest cultures in the world, that has withstood and survived the shocks of time and circumstance through at least five hundred centuries. We cannot and should not with a light heart allow such a hoary and vital culture to decay or die. Its proper conservation is a matter of life and death for us. It is our sacred duty, being imbued with intense faith in the value of that ancient heritage, to be true to that Arya Dharma and endeavour by all means to preserve and enrich it. We cannot cut ourselves off from our ancient moorings nor effect a violent breach with our historic continuity nor a rupture with our social past. That would spell sure death and destruction. While we should endeavour to be faithful to our racial Svadharma, we should also try to keep our society purged of its

serious vices and defects, its vicious practices and obsolete customs, so as to enable it to attain full and vigorous life. For the salvation of India, for the saving of her racial soul and destiny, this mighty tree of Aryan culture should be nurtured and protected by the pure waters of Truth and the nourishing food of Love or Ahimsa.

While trying to maintain the integrity of our cultural inheritance, it is neither possible nor advisable to keep India uninfluenced by the tremendous forces of western culture. Our past blunder lay in wholesale borrowing and blind imitation, irrespective of those elements being suitable or conducive to our growth. The only true and wise policy seems to be to absorb and assimilate only those things from the west that are in harmony with and would therefore tend to enrich our ancient culture. India at different stages in the past has successfully effected such selective absorption of foreign cultures without in any way injuring her body or soul. And that should be an excellent object lesson to us in the new task confronting our nation. To those who have unbounded faith in the process of imitation of the west, we have to point to the warning example of Japan, that does not encourage us in the attempt. As Dr. Tagore remarks, "Imitation is like dressing one skeleton with another man's skin, giving rise to eternal feuds between the skin and the bones at every moment." And those who incessantly harp on the string of efficiency and progress will do well to bear in mind the words of Sir John Woodroffe, "True progress is the gradual release of spirit from the bondage in which it has been seemingly involved. True civilisation is the organisation of society, so that the individual man and his community may attain his and its immediate and final end that is enjoyment and liberation (Bhukti and Mukti)".

There are certain elements in western culture that would help us in the upbuilding of a strong and virile India based on the best of her own past. We may not avoid some of the material conveniences offered by the easier means of communications such as the railway, the telegraph, the steamship, etc. We have to learn a good deal from them evolving a united Indian nation based on the principles of equality, brotherhood, love,

justice and freedom. We shall never adopt their military and aggressive attitude; our only conquest of the world shall be by our spirituality as was effected of old by the humane messengers of our Emperor Asoka, and as is being done in recent times by the sage teachers of her Vedanta philosophy. Our village communal life should be revived and reinvigorated so as to promote the development of our civic duty and responsibility. Our social life should be liberalized giving equal opportunity and freedom to the growth of all castes and communities. While we might seek the help of modern machines and appliances in the development of our industries, we should do our best to revive and foster our cottage industries on a co-operative basis, making wise use of the stimulus that the Swadeshi movement has given recently. We cannot neglect the study of science but our pursuit of scientific knowledge should never be divorced from religion nor misused for purposes of human destruction. The life and researches of Dr. J. C. Bose afford a true inspiration to humanity on the true function of science in human life. In a word, our culture should always continue to be firmly founded on the bed-rock of religion and moulded by the highest ideals of Dharma.

India has to maintain her racial soul and preserve her spiritual ideals of life not only for her own sake but for the good of humanity. Because it is the duty of each great race to perfect its own type of culture in accordance with its genius in order to make its contribution to the world's culture. India has been the Teacher of Asia in the past, and she has yet a message, a healing and elevating message of peace and love, to deliver to a world torn by mutual jealousies and dissensions. Many sane and unbiassed thinkers are beginning to realise the need and value of India's spiritual message of Satya and Ahimsa to mankind. The dawn is already at hand. May her children have the foresight and courage to remain true to the inward light of her grand ideals and hold aloft the banner of her spiritual culture, so as to enable her to help in the federation of mankind that is her divinely appointed destiny !

## SOME ASPECTS OF GUARANTEE UNIONS.

The success of the Co-operative movement depends on the better understanding by the masses of the principles of Joint Responsibility. The rural society borrows on the responsibility of all the members, and in the case of individual loans, all the members very carefully enquire into the necessity for the loan and see that it is spent properly. This interest is taken because every body is jointly liable and in case of any loss, they will have to pay. The Guarantee Union is merely an extension of this principle to create an agency which will act as a sort of intermediary between the Central Bank and the Primary Society.

The Central Bank, situated at the head-quarters of the sub-division cannot exercise that constant and intimate supervision which is necessary for the healthy development of the Rural Societies. When loan applications are received at head-quarters, the Inspection notes are consulted and the committee proceeds to decide whether the loan should be granted or not. From an inspection of the account of the particular society it might appear that it is prospering, but that prosperity might be temporary and seasonal and only an intimate knowledge of actual fact would probably be able to reveal the true state of affairs. In such cases, one has to depend entirely on the Bank's Inspecting clerk, who cannot be expected always to devote his full attention equally to the members of the societies placed under his charge. Even if he succeeds in inspecting the societies more or less regularly, he can not succeed in infusing sufficient enthusiasm among the illiterate members and study their local wants. The Directors cannot visit the societies in the interior frequently, and their occasional visit cannot produce much lasting effect. It may serve the purpose of realizing the arrears of loans at collection time. The proposal of the Registrar of Bihar and Orissa, of "placing a group of societies in the special charge of a Director has been adopted by many Central Banks, and has brought success with it whenever the Directors have taken a keen interest in the working of societies." But the difficulty here is this,

that Directors might pay attention to some societies close to the head-quarters of the Bank but they cannot possibly do the same to the societies in the interior and perhaps these very societies require the greatest attention owing to their situation in the most backward corners of the District. Besides it is opposed to the principle of co-operation that any extraneous agency should constantly interfere in the working of the societies. The lesson of mutual self-help can only be learnt by experience, the inspiration in order to be lasting must be spontaneous, any external stimulus in the form of the Itinerant Inspecting clerk or the paternal Director will only serve to irritate the members instead of giving them any serious help. The members should feel that they must manage their household, and that they are their own masters. This feeling will bring out the real worth of the men, —make them realise their responsibility and their shortcomings. Otherwise they will always be in the condition of the lifelong invalid, weak, anaemic and comatose or looking always to the paternal influence of the Central Bank to lift them up and to make them live. The Guarantee Union will aid in developing their true worth and it will make them strong, and self-reliant. It will be composed of two representatives from each society who will form the General Committee. The membership of societies constituting the Union must necessarily be limited, so as to make inspection and supervision easy and thorough. All applications for loans must be recommended by  $3/4$  majority of this committee. As all the constituent societies will be jointly responsible for the loan, it is natural that great caution should be observed and the most searching enquiries instituted before the application is recommended. The Central Union is saved the expense of having to keep a staff of Inspecting clerks and it gets a collective guarantee for the money it lends. The repayment becomes more regular and we do not meet with low percentages in the collection returns of Banks. In 5 months from July to November, 1921, 43 societies underwent liquidation in Bengal, and in the last year 41 societies in Bihar and Orissa. The cause of the liquidation in some cases no doubt is extreme haste in organising, due to the zeal of the organizer, the inevitable result of which has been failure. With a Guarantee Union working, no

application for Registration within its area would be entertained until the Union Committee recommends it after making the necessary enquiries, and the percentage of liquidations would decrease. Another great benefit of this is that the Societies can exert a potent influence in the direction and management of the Union through its representatives, and this is by itself a great training. In Central Banks, no doubt there are some Directors who are representatives of the societies, but they fight shy of the other Directors who belong to a different rank in Society and the result is that they are so many "dumb" figures. In Guarantee Unions the General Committee will be composed entirely of villagers who will not therefore feel out of place and will be able to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the union.

Another purpose which the Guarantee Union can usefully serve is the securing of better facilities of finance. The credit of the societies is bound to be shaky unless they are ably managed and a very strict control is kept over them. The assets that they can present must necessarily be limited. The guarantee offered by the Union will naturally attract more capital not only from the Banks but from private parties as well, and the regular repayments of the capital and the interest by the societies would increase the solvency of the Banks themselves which would be able to attract more deposits, and extend their scope of operations.

The Bengal Registrar Mr. Thorp remarks in the *Bengal Co-operative Journal* that "the tendency to ignore the steady repayment and gradual reduction of loans are discouraging both from moral and material aspects". It is quite true, and this can only be remedied only by "effecting a radical change in the point of view of the final personal element, *viz.*, the members of the primary societies." The influence necessary for effecting such a change can only be exerted by some of the members themselves—no external agency can possibly do it. The General Committee of the Union is just the body which can effectively perform this by individual efforts and bringing together the whole volume of public opinion on the moral sense of the delinquent member.

In recent times, we have seen what a tremendous influence the caste system still exerts among the masses. A social boycott

is even now the deadliest weapon which can be hurled at the offender. He is cut off entirely and isolated so that he cannot but come round and fall in with the wishes of the majority. We are not concerned here directly with the equities of a system where the minority has no freedom of asserting itself, and Co-operation in India has not yet included Social Reform as one of the main planks of its platform. Taking matters as they stand we may well say that the Guarantee Union might by educating public opinion make deliberate non-payment of dues by a member an offence to society and thus utilize the existing social machinery to bring erring members to their senses. In Orissa among the Goalas caste, the castemen refuse to dine at the house of a person who has failed to clear his debts, and he remains boycotted till he pays up and pays a fine to the caste funds.

The Guarantee Union can also be utilized in strengthening Industrial Societies. The number of non-agricultural societies increased by 77 in 1920 in Bihar & Orissa, with a corresponding increase in working capital by Rs. 201,096 while the membership decreased by 3,958. The chief reason why Industrial Societies do not thrive is that as the artizans have little material assets to offer the Banks hesitate to advance them much money. In fact in the case of some societies as the fisherman's society of Puri, the assets offered in some cases have been the fishing nets and buckets and it is certainly risky to advance capital on this security. As the Registrar remarks that "Character is the greatest asset in the money markets but it requires patient and careful enquiries to determine the moral assets." The task of determining this cannot be performed by occasional visits of the Inspecting clerk or the Directors but by vigilant and persevering local workers. The Guarantee Union is the only agency which can do this effectively.

It is true that the strength of co-operative productive institutions has been their market among distributive co-operative institutions. This is the cause of the inherent weakness of the isolated Industrial society which cannot properly market its produce, hence, in spite of honest labour it cannot thrive. The ideal suggested is that the Industrial society should be in league with a member of co-operative stores which will purchase

the output of the society and whenever necessary will direct the change in their nature of the demand, so that there will be no divergence between the Producer and the Consumer, a defect we meet with in most Industrial societies which cannot adjust themselves to changes in demand. In the case of a Guarantee Union having three agricultural and two Industrial societies under it, the Industrial Societies not only get the advantage of being financed on the joint responsibility of the three other societies but will find a ready market for their goods in the members of the other societies who will naturally consider it their interest to purchase these goods and see that the society prospers.

The Daulatpur Bank reports that in some cases where it was proposed to form a Union of three good and two bad societies, the three prosperous societies refused to involve themselves in the liabilities of the bad societies. This is a very hopeful thing as this indicates that all the societies have been alive in a full sense to this responsibilities. In such cases the best course would be to make careful enquiries and liquidate the hopeless societies.

It cannot be denied that the working of the Guarantee Union requires a fair level of intelligence among the people as is found in Burma where the movement has succeeded beyond expectation. This amount of intelligence might not be available all over among the masses, but men are not few who, though not blessed with the opportunity of acquiring literary education have been trained in Nature's school and who, can carry the torch of co-operation to the darkest recesses, only if they can be interested in it.

In warmly commending the Guarantee Union the Registrar of Burma Co-operative Society says that the movement develops from within and the humble cultivator whose gifts of capacity and authority are well known to his neighbour and to himself, becomes a leader of men, specially trusted and influential as one of themselves.

BHUPATI B. MUKHERJEE.

## THE DRAFTING OF ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

Parliament is all-powerful. It can abolish any institution of the country—the Throne, the Church, the Courts of Justice, and can even extinguish itself. “It can do anything,” said Lord Palmerstone, in the days he was Prime Minister, “but really another limit must be placed to its omnipotence. It is often unable to make the statutes in which it embodies its wisdom and authority plain and intelligible, or things of common-sense.

The most ludicrous enactments are to be found in Acts of Parliament. There is the statute for the rebuilding of Chelmsford Gaol. The Bill, as originally drafted, proposed that prisoners should be confined in the old gaol until the new one was built, but in Committee a clause was added to the effect that the new prison should be constructed out of the materials of the old, and the Bill became law without the detection of this glaring inconsistency. Then there is the “fifty-second of George II., chapter 146,” which enacts that the penalty imposed under it should be given, half to the King and half to the poor of the Parish. And what is the penalty which the Act provides? A substantial fine in current coin of the realm? Not a bit of it. It is transportation for fourteen years! Poor King! Poorer poor of the parish! The first intention was that the penalty should be a fine of £500; and on second thoughts Parliament substituted a term of penal servitude. But it forgot to omit the clause providing for the division of the spoils between the King and his indigent subjects.

But, apart from these amusing mistakes arising from clumsy expressions or carelessness, Acts of Parliament are often written in technical and obscure language, the meaning of which is most difficult to grasp. The plain man who endeavours to read through an Act in which he is personally interested is so confused and bewildered by the inscrutable aspect of many a section which confronts him with a stare as stony as that of the Sphinx, that for some dreadful moments he feels he must be absolutely devoid of any power of understanding. Why should this exasperatingly

intricate and redundant verbiage be employed in drafting the laws of the land? Why cannot they be set out in language intelligible to the people who are supposed to know them and obey? Why should not Acts of Parliament possess the cardinal virtue of saying simply and plainly what they mean? The suspicion that springs at once to the naturally resentful as well as puzzled mind of the layman is that the employment of subtleties and technicalities in the statutes of the realm must be intended to promote litigation; and, indeed, the recurring controversies in the Law Courts over the interpretation of Acts give much ground for the suspicion that the object of concealing as far as possible from the ordinary mind the meaning of the law is to give work to the lawyers.

What sort of men are they, the authors of these curious and complex productions, the inner mystery and significance of which often baffle even the trained legal mind? How do they work? The draftsmen of Acts of Parliament are themselves lawyers. Indeed that almost goes without saying. The only glimpse of understanding caught from an otherwise meaningless clause of an Act of Parliament is that it could only emanate from the mind of a gentleman in a wig and black gown who loves to make a puzzle of everything. All Government Bills are prepared in "the office of the Parliamentary Council." This office was not established until 1869. Before that year it was the custom of every Department of the State to employ independent Counsel to draft its own Bills. But for the past quarter of a century all the Bills of the various departments have been prepared in the Parliamentary Counsel's office. The staff consists of a first Counsel, who gets £2,500 a year; a second Counsel, who begins with £1,800 per annum, and after three years' service gets £ 2,000, and three or four shorthand writers. There is an additional grant of £1,500 a year for fees to outside Members of the Bar for assistance in preparing Bills when they are too numerous for the strength of the Office. It must be admitted that Bills are not now quite so clumsily penned as they were of yore. Jeremy Bentham states that in one statute alone he found "a multitude of gross, palpable grammatical errors" such as no schoolboy could see himself convicted of without shame. The modern statute does not hold itself so superior to grammar as

the old. But the main improvement is that many of the traditional, tortuous and cumbersome forms have been abandoned, and that more attention is paid to the logical or orderly arrangement of the clauses. The old vice of unintelligibility, however, remains. Conciseness and clearness of expression are still the exception rather than the rule in our Acts of Parliament.

The draftsman gets his instructions for the preparation of a Bill from the head of the Department to which it relates; that is, the Minister who is to have charge of the measure in its passage through Parliament. Lord Thring, who, as Mr. Henry Thring was the First Chief of the Office of the Parliamentary Counsel, drafted all the important Bills of both Disraeli and Gladstone. While he was engaged on the Irish Land Bill of 1870 he used to go to Gladstone's house, and sitting at a table with the statesman he composed that long and complex measure. The same course was followed in the case of the Bill of 1869 for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland. Lord Thring relates that he wished to put in one short clause at the very commencement of the Bill a sentence disestablishing the Irish Church. But Gladstone whose gift of hiding his meaning in a cloud of words when he desired to be obscure would have made him a supremely eminent Parliamentary draftsman, wished to have the dread sentence in the Bill approached gradually and obscurely. His leading colleague in the Cabinet, Lord Granville, happened to be present, and he, being of opinion that the draftsman's recommendation should be adopted, Gladstone reluctantly gave way. The clause is as follows: "On and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, the said union created by Act of Parliament between the Churches of England and Ireland be dissolved, and the said Church of Ireland, hereinafter referred to as 'the said Church' shall cease to be established by law." Even here there is some circumlocution. Still, the clause is the simplest, most direct, and most straightforward in the Act.

While Gladstone thus busied himself in the most minute details of his Bills, weighing carefully every word of every clause, Disraeli interested himself only in the principles of the proposals in his measures, and troubled himself little about their construc-

tion. He gave Mr. Thring but one day for the drafting of the Reform Bill of 1867—the statute by which household suffrage in boroughs was established. It was on a Thursday night that Mr. Thring received instructions from Disraeli to prepare the measure and to have it ready for the meeting of the Cabinet on Saturday. Next day, at ten o'clock, the draftsman set to work with two shorthand writers, to whom he dictated the clauses as he composed them, and by six o'clock the Bill was finished. It was put into type that night and printed copies were delivered to the members of the Cabinet next morning. On Monday the Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Disraeli.

Of course, the draftsman had previously made a thorough study of the subject. Reform was the one political question then occupying the public mind. Indeed, Mr. Thring had drafted the year before a Reform Bill for the Liberal Government upon which they were defeated and resigned. The first duty of the draftsman is to make himself acquainted with the existing law relating to the subject of the Bill which he is instructed to prepare. As to the actual work of composition, a special Act of Parliament has been passed for his guidance. It is known as the Interpretation Act, 1889, and is fully described as “An Act for consolidating Enactments relating to the Construction of Acts of Parliament, and for further shortening the Language used in Acts of Parliament.” Some of its injunctions for the avoidance of verbal ambiguity are certainly curious. The first of its fortythree sections lays down rules with respect to gender and number. “Words importing the masculine gender,” it says, “shall include females.” The old saying “man embraces woman” would be terser, more correct, and to the point. “Words in the singular,” it says, “shall include the plural, and words in the plural shall include the singular.” This reads like a variant of the Irishman’s declaration that every one is as good as another, and ten times better. Then, also, there are some interesting definitions. “The expression ‘Parliamentary election’ shall mean the election of a member or members to serve in Parliament.” “Expressions referring to writing shall, unless the contrary intention appears, be construed as including references to printing, lithography, and other modes of representing or reproducing words in a visible

form." "Distance shall, unless the contrary intention appears, be measured in a straight line on a horizontal plane."

Lord Thring, it is true, advises simplicity and directness of diction in the drafting of Bills. Latin words and technical phraseology should be avoided. "The best word adopted to express a thought in ordinary composition will," he says, "generally be found to be the best that can be used in an Act of Parliament." A noun should be used in preference to a pronoun, even though the noun has to be repeated. "Repetition of the same word" he says, "is never a fault in business composition, if an ambiguity is thereby avoided." Nevertheless, it is to be feared that the study of Acts of Parliament can never be recommended to those who desire to master the art of clear and concise composition. Here is a section of the Succession Duty Act, 1853, which Lord Thring quotes as an inspiring example, to the draftsman, of how the principle of a Bill may be concentrated in one clause; and yet the reading of it leaves one somewhat bewildered and exhausted.

"Every past or future disposition of property, by reason whereof any person has or shall become beneficially entitled to any property, or the income thereof, upon the death of any person dying after the time appointed for the commencement of this Act, either immediately or after any interval, either certainly or contingently, and either originally or by way of substitutive limitation, and every devolution by law of any beneficial interest in property, or the income thereof, upon the death of any person dying after the time appointed for the commencement of this Act, to any other person, in possession or expectancy, shall be deemed to have conferred or to confer on the person entitled by reason of any such disposition or devolution a 'succession,' and the term 'successor' shall denote the person so entitled, and the term 'predecessor' shall denote the settler, disposer, testator, obligor, ancestor, or other person from whom the interest of the successor is or shall be derived."

Of course, the Act of Parliament is occasionally a very different thing from the Bill as composed by the draftsman. Gladstone's Land Bill of 1881 was altered and reprinted twenty-two times before it was finally approved by the Cabinet and

presented to the House of Commons. In Parliament itself the Bill has to undergo the criticism and correction of 670 members of the House of Commons and about 570 members of the House of Lords. There are in both Chambers a crowd of lawyers, and they are the most active of the different sections of our legislators in moving amendments when a Bill is in Committee. But even the lay members are influenced by what they deem to be the importance of legal technicalities in drawing up amendments, and accordingly they endeavour to copy the vague and indefinite jargon of the lawyers. It is supposed to be the correct thing to do, such is the example and force of precedent in Parliament. The result often is that the lay member succeeds in confusing no one more than himself as to his meaning and intention. Once a member of the House of Commons proposed an amendment worded as follows : "Every dog found trespassing on enclosed land, unaccompanied by the registered owner of such dog, or other person, who shall on being asked for his true name and address may be then and there destroyed by such occupier or by his orders." This gem of meaningless nonsense was, however, not passed. Peers of the Realm even are not above lapsing into ambiguity in their proposals. A certain noble lord in Committee on the Agricultural Holdings Bill put down this somewhat startling notice : "To ask the Government whether they will consider the practicability of introducing some provision for alleviating the great hardship now suffered by the family of any clergyman if he dies while occupying his glebe, as many clergymen have latterly found themselves reluctantly compelled to do."

Jeremy Bentham's sweeping condemnation of the Acts of Parliament, as literary compositions, is happily now out of date. "No bellman's verses, no metrical effusion of an advertising oilshop," he says, "were ever so much below the level of genuine poetry as, when taken all in all, are the productions of an official statute-drawer below the level of the plainest commonsense." But the fact remains that the statutes, as the expression of the nation's philosophy of life, ought really to form part of its literature. I wonder will the day ever come when Acts of Parliament will be written by men not only with clearness of thought

and lucidity of expression, but with passion and tenderness and humour; writers, in a word, capable of conveying that hint of tears and that echo of laughter which are to be found in all things.

### A SAD CASE.

The man is mad. . . . But picture not a scene  
Of some asylum chamber, grim and sad,  
In which he ponders with dejected mien,  
And longs for freedom sweet—which once he had !  
The man is mad. . . . Not always so, I ween—  
Three hours ago his children played with “Dad.”  
But now he’s spoiling sheets of paper clean,  
And pores across a table, thinly clad.  
Although ‘tis long now since to school he’s been,  
He said he’d solve some sums which “stumped” his lad ;  
And now he’s wond’ring what on earth they mean. . . .  
The man is mad !

M. MACDONAGH.

## CHILD AND MATERNITY WELFARE.

A healthy childhood is a natural prelude to a vigorous and healthy manhood and a potentiality for doing a full share of the world's work, and while the soldier endangers his life only on the battle-field, the mother risks her's many a time in the home. It is therefore incumbent on us that we should study the problem of their welfare. A eugenically fit marriage, perfect heridity, ideal environment, high education, good pecuniary circumstances, and sound physique of the parents all in their turn accelerate the progress of the child and mother, while their opposite has a most detrimental influence on both. A fair consideration of those problems is however beyond the scope of the present article and we shall only discuss the points of their welfare in the circumstances as they exist in India. The table below will reveal that the appalling infant mortality, which when compared to other countries is highest in India, does not merely signify a certain amount of leakage in human life or satisfy the vain theory of "survival of the fittest" but indicates that the majority of Indians are living in very deplorable conditions which require immediate improvement.

Average Annual Death rate per 1,000 population.

Country.	Under 1 year.	1-5 years.	All persons.
*India (1908-09)	260.7	67.3	38.2
Japan (1908)		31.99	20.9
United Kingdom (average)			
for 1896-1905)	147	20	17.3
Denmark (average for 1896-1905)	136	11	15.5
Norway and Sweden (average)			
for 1896-1905)	102	12	15.5
Holland (average for 1896-1905)	50	50	17
United States (1898)	58.8	58.8	14
New Zealand (1919)	32	—	9.5

<sup>\*</sup>If we make an analysis of the figure for India we shall find that average death of children under one year per 1,000 births for the years 1902-11 was 199 for Madras Presidency, 270 for Bengal, 320 for Bombay Presidency, 352 for United Provinces, 306 for the Punjab, 306 for Behar and Orissa, 332 for Burma.

It is natural that the children which are born when the parents are fully developed both mentally and physically will be superior to those who on opening their little eyes find their parents to be "immature" or "weary with life's burden". A child born when the father is fully settled in life and is happy and contented with his lot has start over the other children. Moreover a child with a fewer number of brothers and sisters stands a better chance of receiving greater and closer attention than the one who is born in a big family. Children born of parents who are used to alcohol or other intoxicants will have a natural tendency to idiocy, epilepsy, and other diseases of the brain. It is considered proved that alcohol does pass from the mother to the foetus and may injure the tissues and retard the development of the cells. In his evidence before the Inter-departmental committee on Physical deterioration Dr. Wigglesworth said "that a habit of excessive drinking tends in some cases to a poisoning of germ cells of the parent by means of alcohol circulating in the blood and a consequent tendency on the part of those germ cells to develop into an organism with an unstable and badly developed brain. Experience and statistics alike prove that bad housing, limited and wretched tenements, defective sanitation and other concomitant evils of a town and industrial life operate most injuriously on infancy."

There can be no doubt that the ante-natal condition of the mother—who has to bear, to rear and then to lose—has a great effect on the infant. Anaemic, ignorant and illiterate mothers who have lived in insanitary surroundings in poverty with an insufficient amount of food, a good deal of mental distraction and a lot of overwork can only give birth to infants which are physically and mentally inferior to those who are born of healthy, educated, and cultured mothers who have lived happily in peace and contentment devoting themselves to literature, fine arts and romance, who have taken easily digestible and nourishing food and who while taking plenty of exercise have refrained from over-work. In a poor country like India the divine-child-bearer has very often to work till the very day of her confinement in order to add a morsel to the half-filled stomachs of the members of the family. When she has to do manual work the baby is often born before

the full period of gestation—which according to our Shastras is 380 days and 6 hours—and this usually means a small unhealthy and undeveloped child. In the good old grand fatherly days the factories were unknown and the majority of women used to take up the work most suitable for their welfare. They could very easily accommodate themselves to the changed circumstances and take to a work which agreed with the advance in pregnancy. With the extended use of steam, electricity and machinery and the advent of the factory system, however, the problem has become very difficult. Some of the processes in which a woman is engaged are decidedly injurious to her and the child, while a majority of others entail an amount of exertion which it is undesirable for the potential mother to bear. If we have to improve the race we shall have to adopt some plan by which the expectant mother may be saved from fatiguing manual work without suffering loss of wages. If she works in the factory it will have to be enacted that either the factory people will have to put her to some work which does not tax her health or grant leave on at least half-pay for a minimum period of two months before and as many months after child birth as they do in Germany.

A word may be said here about the duty of society, the Municipality and the state in interfering in what is primarily an individual concern. All the three agencies exist for the welfare of the people and the task of securing the physical efficiency of the rising generation cannot be beyond their scope. It should be a function of the Municipality to appoint health-visitors, nurse and midwives. In each ward there should be a hostel, situated in a healthy locality in which a sufficient number of health-visitors, nurses and midwives shall reside. These should be under the direct control and supervision of a qualified doctor attached to the maternity department of a lady hospital. Starting from the time of pregnancy it will be the duty of health-visitors to advise the expectant mother as to her health and to get her to realize the importance of this to the baby to come. She must be a tutor, guide and friend to the would-be mother. If she finds that at any stage the potential mother is engaged in a work not suited to her health, she should at once advise her to take to a different work and if that is impossible she should be in a posi-

tion to find some work for her in the hostel but preferably in her own house, *e.g.*, spinning, preparation of baby clothes, and in case even that is not possible or does not fetch enough for her she should be able to get her an allowance from the Municipality or some other charitable fund. On no account should the divine child bearer be allowed to exceed the maximum work she can do without injuring her health or take less than the minimum of nourishment compatible with her health. If the health visitor thinks that the divine child bearer is living in a overcrowded building with bad ventilation and in insanitary surroundings she should be able to provide her with a decent hereditament or take her into the hostel or make other arrangements under which she may be able to pass a greater portion of her time in the hostel. If in her opinion lying-in arrangements cannot be satisfactorily made, she should be able to provide the would-be mother a room in her hostel and if she apprehends any difficulty at child-birth arrangements should be made for medical attendances at her house or else she should be shifted to the hospital. If the health visitor finds that everything is not all right with the expectant mother she should be able to get her examined by the doctor. Dinners and outings will have to be arranged for the poor. Besides all these, the health visitor will have to teach the divine child bearer her future duties in relation to the child. If the potential mother is literate a lot of literature on the subject must be provided for her. If she comes across illiterate women, she must tell them all about their duties, or better call them to the hostel and take classes and give them lessons illustrated with lantern slides, pictures and charts and manipulations of the feeding bottle, etc. As the time of confinement approaches the nurse should fit in the lying-in room which must be in the best sanitary surroundings, possibly in the second story with a high roof and pacca floor, abundance of light and provision for good ventilation with all necessary appliances. As soon as the birth-pangs are felt, the licensed mid-wife from the hostel should attend and if any difficulty is apprehended the doctor should be forthwith sent for. The health visitor will have to see that everything is scrupulously clean as any economy in that connection will prove false and any deviation from the standard will be at the expense of the mother and child.

These hostels can also serve as infant consultations, schools for mothers and toddlers, creches, nurseries for children whose parents are dead and depots for supply of certified milk. The infants of the poor will have to be periodically weighed and measured here, and petty ailments and minor bandages attended to. As schools for mothers, lessons in infant care, hygiene, first aid, sterilizing of milk, care of the bottle, preparation of baby clothes and mosquito-nets, regulation of diet and sleep will have to be given. Courses on preventibles, partially preventible and non-preventible diseases will have to be given. The advantages of vaccination and the keeping away from mosquitoes flies and germs will have to be impressed. The task however is not so easy. The prejudices will have to be met with, but it is sure, that a little tact, sympathy and perseverance will lead to success. The conditions should not be made artificial and rigid. Prizes and attractions must be offered at the start, and the whole atmosphere must be made attractive and charming. Paucity of funds can be no answer to such a beneficent object on which depends the future of the race. While money can be spent on hundred and one funny things it cannot be withheld for such a laudable object and if there is a real dearth of money the rich people can be counted upon to pay it in the form of charity or tax.

In places where the Municipality is non-existent or is not agreeable to take up the work, the burden will naturally fall on Government and failing that on society. Volunteers and missionary workers will find a most useful avenue of work in this direction. If however all external help and advice is denied to the divine child-bearer she will naturally fall back on the advice tendered by her friends and relatives or on the literature, if any, which she may be able to get hold of. She must however make the best of the circumstances and try to follow the suggestions given in the last para.

We shall have to take the greatest care of the baby, when it is born because just as hot house plants are extraordinarily sensitive to their surroundings and only thrive when placed in the most favourable conditions as regards light, warmth and soil and quickly show by drooping the slightest departure from

favourable conditions, so do infants respond favourably or unfavourably to feeding, housing and general environment according as they are good or bad. The greatest care, however, is required in the beginning for the baby has not only to live out to grow and grow rapidly, and anything which arrests the growth retards its progress for ever. We conclude the article by offering a few suggestions that will conduce to its welfare.

First, the baby should as far as possible be fed on the breast, and the mother should on no account sub-let her functions to the nurse, cow or chemist as long as she can avoid it. The baby should be slowly and conveniently fed only on one breast only at a time and that at regular intervals of about 3 hours each. If the infant is healthy it will not require any milk in the night and will sleep soundly the whole of it. On no account should it be fed irregularly or when it is asleep or disturbed or whenever it begins to cry or show signs of restlessness. If the mother cannot feed the baby at the breast, a healthy and young wet-nurse should be engaged who has a baby of the same age as the one whose charge she is going to take. The next best substitute is the milk of a cow and in some cases of a goat or ass. But these differ in the amount of their ingredients from human milk and we have to modify these so as to suit the baby. Various proportions of sugar, water, or some other substance has to be added for different babies at different ages. The milk has also to be boiled and sterilized. It should be then placed in clean, sealed vessels, and these most carefully covered up, and kept surrounded with cold water which should be frequently changed in summer. A determined quantity of this should be taken out at fixed intervals and given to the baby in a *clean round* bottle with a *short teat* or in a spoon. Our difficulty however does not end at this, for though milk when pure is an ideal food, yet it is of all food-stuffs the most difficult to preserve *pure* and handle successfully, and it is almost a truism to say that it is impossible to get "pure" milk. The greatest care, should, therefore, be taken in buying, storing, preparing and feeding that milk. Even when the cow is healthy, there is likelihood of its getting contaminated when it is brought from unsanitary cow-sheds through dirty lanes in dirty and open vessels. The care of the bottle

is not less troublesome and we can only approach the ideal by scrupulous cleanliness and care. Condensed milk and patent foods should never be given unless prescribed by the doctor. The juice of grape or orange may be given after the baby has completed 9 months. After the baby has completed a year solid food may be gradually introduced. Variety will add to the zest of life but sweets may not be given under two years of age. It is not desirable to feed the baby on the breast for more than a year as after that it does not get sufficient nourishment while it extracts undue energy from the mother.

Second, every baby should have a daily-bath. The baby's skin is soft and delicate and if it is not washed daily, it quickly becomes sore. In cold weather it should be given a bath with hot water in a warm place free from draught. A piece of flannel should be used for soaping the baby. The mother should hold the baby in her lap while soaping and then place it in the bath and remove the soap from the skin. Generally the baby will enjoy the bath and may be allowed to stay in it for a minute or two. It should be then taken out and dried very carefully with a soft towel and dressed quickly and fed almost immediately. It will be necessary to see that all the folds of the skin are dry, for example inside and behind the arms in the groin, etc., otherwise the skin becomes sore. If the baby is sickly, thin, delicate or premature, it should be rubbed with warm sweet oil.

Third, every baby must have a cot separate from the mother. It is not good for the baby, that it should occupy the same bed as the mother. It does not get as much fresh air, as it would get if it slept alone, its limbs cannot move freely and besides the weak molecules from the mother take the place of the more active ones of the baby and thus injure its constitution. A little bed can be made for the baby by a basket man very cheaply, but it should not be made so that it swings or rocks. A decent bed will require a small mattress which should be stuffed with cotton. A small piece of mackintosh sheeting should be laid over the mattress in order to prevent its becoming wet. Over the mackintosh should be laid a sheet of some washable material. The warm coverings which are needed over the body in cold weather should be porous, light as well as warm. A small clean mosquito net, tucked care-

fully under the mattress will be required to keep away the mosquitoes and flies.

Fourth, all babies should be weighed at regular intervals because this is the best method of knowing that they are making progress. If the baby does not increase steadily in weight something must be wrong, either it is not getting sufficient sustenance or not absorbing its food properly or there is some other abnormality. A baby at birth usually weighs 3 seers and should increase by 2 or 3 chataks in weight every week for first six months. But no matter what the initial weight and the increase in every week a regular and steady increase is an index of normal life.

Last but not the least, the child requires a healthy mother conversant with her duties to the child, a prosperous and loving father, regularity in daily routine, plenty of fresh air and sufficient recreation, amusement and exercise as he advances in age. He should not be frightened or given a pacifier. Alcohol or opium when given by the parents to the child, acts as a poison, retards their mental and physical development, lessens the activity of the body, decreases the activity of the white blood cells.

JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA.

THE "HINDUSTAN REVIEW"

BECOMES A QUARTERLY FROM

OCTOBER NEXT.

## A MAN AND TWO WOMEN.

It caused an agreeable thrill to such of Captain Hector Wingfield's guests as were not too blasé of sensation to hear the wild beasts roaring in the park of Starning. The sophisticated ones said that it was a thrill common to all dwellers about Regent's Park, but, after all, that was not quite the same thing, or so said Margery Langdale, who was young enough to welcome a thrill.

Hector Wingfield was quite thrilling enough of himself, at least to a girl like Margery, beyond the fact that he kept a private Zoo in his park, where the animals roamed, practically uncaged, and with as near an approach to the natural state as was possible in the English climate.

He was 32 years of age, more than common tall, brown-haired, and brown-eyed, with a laughing glance and a most alluring voice. He had remained a bachelor longer than he had any business to, considering all he had to give and how many women had been touched by him. His best near friends said that he was profoundly unconscious that women liked him in that way. He had many women friends, old and young. Perhaps he was at his most charming when he was talking to one of the many old ladies who were fond of him. So Margery Langdale thought, watching him with old Lady Beaudesert, who was considered sharptongued by many people, but brought out her best qualities for her friend and godson.

"Hector is such a very fine and charming fellow, my dear," she had said to Margery Langdale, who was rather a favourite with her, "that I am torn to pieces between the desire to see him married, as he ought to be, and the conviction that I don't know any woman I wouldn't grudge him to".

Lady Beaudesert always said whatever came into her mind. Something came into her mind now and she spoke it, fixing her small piercing grey eyes on Margery's young unconscious face

"It has suddenly occurred to me," she said, "that the only young woman of my acquaintance I wouldn't grudge Hector to is yourself".

Margery's face was no longer unconscious. Colour surged over it and flowed down to her neck. One conjectured that her whole body blushed. She could only stammer and stare at Lady Beaудесерт.

"There ! there ! my dear," said the old lady. "You blush very prettily, but it is wasted on me. Keep it for Hector or some other young man."

Margery Langdale was the child of a writing mother, who was one of Hector Wingfield's fast friends, although a friend of recent date. It was Mrs. Langdale's first visit to Starning, where she sat and observed when she was not writing, with shrewd, yet kindly eyes, the stream of fashionable people who came and went as Hector Wingfield's guests. It was a life which amused her, the more that it was new to her. Hector Wingfield used to take her away for a quiet talk when he grew tired of the smart ladies ; he said Mrs. Langdale always refreshed him. But she was not even a very successful writer, and some people rather wondered at Hector Wingfield's friendship with her. She was rather poor and not at all averse to staying on through May and June at Starning, and she was quite able to hold her own with one or two of the smart ladies who tried to snub her.

It was a season of very smart dressing, and Mrs. Langdale and her daughter were certainly very quiet and simple figures compared with the ladies who wore the smartest possible creations every evening at Starning. Nor could they aspire to the expensive simplicity of the ladies' most ordinary garments. Still the men found nothing amiss in the little writing woman and her young daughter, which was annoying to such as Lady Caroline Singleton and her daughter Avis.

Avis had certainly inherited her mother's beauty, with her mother's acid wit. Not that she always allowed the acidity to appear. She was rather splendid to look at, with a beautiful figure, a small, ivory-coloured face, features delicate as a cameo, and curls of dark hair crowning the little head. She knew how to dress so as to show off her beauty. In wonderful blues and scarlets, with golden tissues, she was like Cleopatra. She had been through a good many seasons and there had often been

rumours of her engagement and marriage, but they had come to nothing. She was twenty-nine and without any likelihood of marriage. Too sharp a tongue and wit not to frighten off the men, said her mother; but other people talked of the flirtations she had had, and her heartless way of ending them. One poor lad who had been madly in love with Miss Singleton had blown his brains out. But people did not talk of these things. They had certainly not reached Hector Wingfield's ears.

Whatever visions and dreams little Margery might have had were coldly and sadly dispelled by the coming of Avis Singleton. The mother and daughter were reported not to get on well, but they certainly were united in the task of putting little Mrs. Langdale and her daughter "in their places." If Lady Beaudesert had been there they would have had an ally. As it was the duel was unequal. There were only one or two men to make up the house party. Lady Caroline and her daughter were adepts in the art of pushing out people they thought undesirable without letting those they wished to remain ignorant suspect what they were doing. They were much too astute to let Hector Wingfield know that they were being cruelly rude to his guests. The men were shooting all day—it was late September—and too wearily well-content of evenings to be very observant. There were a thousand little instances during the day which none suspected outside the antagonists. In the evening the two worldly women, with their fine dressing and accomplished and ready ways outshone the simplicities of Mrs. Langdale and her daughter. When Hector Wingfield began to be attracted by Miss Singleton's beauty and charm it was the last drop in poor Margery's cup of mortification.

Over and over again she had prayed her mother to end the visit. Only the indomitable spirit in the little woman prevented her yielding to her daughter's appeal. She would not be driven out by those insolent people. Their visit was to last for another fortnight. Not even for Margery's tears would she make polite fictions to a kind host to explain their going before their time. The party would be breaking up at the end of the fortnight. Those insolent fine ladies should not say they had driven her from the field. She would stay and see the end of it.

Sometimes it made her heart heavy to see how Hector Wingfield had begun to yield to Miss Singleton's fascinations. Not that she thought of him for Margery, or even suspected the girl's simple passion. While she sat weaving love stories and entanglements year after year she was often blissfully unconscious of the things under her eyes. But she was very fond of Hector Wingfield, and his growing infatuation for the insolent beauty was unmistakable. She was going to lose her friend. He was going to marry a woman who would never make him happy. She was so full of these things and her battle with the winning enemy that she hardly noticed how big-eyed and pale Margery had become.

As the day of her triumph approached Miss Singleton's insolence took a new and cruel turn. From a haughty ignoring of Margery Langdale's existence she turned to pretended friendliness. She insisted on drawing the girl out of the seclusion in which she had taken refuge. She patted her cheek, and smiled upon her. Always, as she looked at Margery there was a mocking devil in her eye. She addressed Margery pointedly during meals, and when the host and other men were present, very often attempting to draw her into discussing things of which the girl was ignorant.

It imposed upon Hector Wingfield. Perhaps he had noticed the cleavage between his guests earlier, for he said to Mrs. Langdale one day that it was pleasant to see the friendship which had sprung up between Margery and Miss Singleton.

"You live in a world of the intellect," he said; "you must not despise the world of less fortunate folk therefore. You would find a great deal to interest you in Lady Caroline if you would try".

As he said it he was caressing a leopard cub which had been reared in the house, and was as much of a pet as a dog. The cub rubbed up against him and tumbled on its back in expectation of a game.

"It is time Haroun was in the park with the others," she said, ignoring what he had been saying. "He is growing up very fast."

"He is a puppy at heart," Hector answered, rolling the cub

over with his foot. "I hate to part with him, but he is certainly growing up."

While he said it his eyes wandered. He had found Mrs. Langdale in a recess of the beautiful library. Standing by the table he looked out across the verandah, and the garden beneath to where two figures were approaching. They were Avis Singleton and Margery Langdale. Tall Avis had an arm flung about Margery's shoulders. The mother, following the direction of the man's eyes, conjectured Margery's shrinking from the enforced caress. She was very angry.

"Poor Margery is rather overwhelmed by Miss Singleton's sudden friendship," she said.

"Oh," the man said, in a pained bewilderment, "and I thought they were getting on so well".

He went out by the open window to meet the two girls, Haroun gambolling about him like a big puppy. Mrs. Langdale watched. They were so near that she could see what was happening and overhear what was said. She hoped Margery would come to her. She hated to look on at the child being hurt. What fools men were! Did Hector Wingfield think he could keep both girls? Or could he not make up his mind? Despite his growing infatuation for Avis Singleton he had a curious way of looking at Margery sometimes which worried the mother. If Margery had fallen in love with Wingfield it had not been without invitation. She said bitter things in her heart about the ways of men.

Margery, as though she felt her mother's desire to comfort and shelter her, detached herself from the others and came into the house. The other two passed away out of sight.

"I have finished my story, Margery, said the mother. "I think it will be necessary for me to take it up to London. Do you think our host could spare us?"

"I am sure he could," said Margery with a husky sound in her voice. She wanted frightfully to cry, but she was not going to, not yet, till they could get back to their little house near London, where no eyes except compassionate ones need see that she suffered. "It will be good to get home," she said. "When can we go, mother?"

"To-morrow. Will that be too soon?"

"Oh, no, no. I shall pack after tea. Let us go early, darling."

"I think I have urgent business matters," the mother said deliberately. "We could get away after breakfast."

It was the hour between lunch and tea, when Lady Caroline Singleton took her siesta. They were safe from interruption for the moment.

"What is that?" asked Margery, pointing to a rifle on the table.

"Hector had it in his hand when he came in. He said it was for one of the animals that was old and sick. He was taking it to a keeper. Apparently he has forgotten it. It is loaded."

Margery lost interest in the matter of the rifle. She was trying very hard to keep control of herself. If once she let herself go it would be the opening of the flood-gates.

"Let us go and pack," said the mother. "Perhaps . . . we might leave to-night. The 7-55 is a good train. I could plead urgency."

She said to herself that probably at the moment Hector Wingfield was telling the other girl he loved her. Poor Margery! She must not attend at that triumph! She must not look on at the happy lovers. Her mother was prepared to do anything to spare the child that. For the minute she detested Hector Wingfield as much as she detested Miss Singleton.

They went away upstairs. It yet wanted an hour or so to tea-time. They began their packing. After a time Mrs. Langdale discovered that she had left her despatch-case in the library, and asked Margery to fetch it.

The house was very quiet and sunny as the girl went down the stairs. The grey autumn morning had given way to a beautiful afternoon. Through the open hall door she could see the gardens still showing late roses and China asters. Sir Hector's old spaniel, Spot, lay on the rug in the hall and wagged a lazily friendly tale as she bent over to caress him. For the life of her she could not help a big tear falling on to his silky head.

She stood for a moment to gain control. The tears wanted

to come so badly and her throat was swelling uncomfortably. She would retrieve the despatch case and get back as quickly as possible to the shelter of her own room. She thought with sudden horror that they might come back, or she might meet Lady Caroline descending from her siesta. She must be quick.

The library was bathed in sunlight. She was half-way down the beautiful long room when she heard a loud triumphant laugh. It was Avis Singleton's laugh. They had returned. They were sitting in the verandah with their back to her, too absorbed in each other to be aware of her.

Miss Singleton was apparently teasing her lover. He was leaning towards her in a way that made Margery feel sick and miserable. One hand hung loosely over the side of the chair, and Haroun was licking it vigorously.

She stood rooted to the spot. They had not heard her. If she stirred they might turn round and see her. Her eyes looked from side to side as though seeking deliverance.

Suddenly Hector Wingfield spoke. He did not raise his voice, but there was something very strange about its sound.

"Avis," he said; "there is a loaded rifle on the table behind us. Go very quickly—for God's sake, no panic, my dear!—take the rifle, come behind me, and shoot Haroun through the head. He has drawn blood; in a second he will be upon me."

Miss Singleton screamed and rushed past Margery, nearly knocking her over. The library door banged behind her. There, on the table lay the loaded rifle. Margery knew how to use a rifle; she had been practising at a London range for a year.

She saw Haroun back on his haunches, his eyes glaring like two enormous topazes. There was a queer sickly smell as though a breath from the jungle had entered the quiet room. She lifted the rifle and took aim. She saw Haroun crumple up and fall back. Then she loaded again and coming forward fired into the sleek, still-moving head.

Lady Caroline and her daughter departed by the evening train instead of Margery and her mother. Hector Wingfield was quite uninjured except for the raw, red spot which Haroun had licked through with his rough tongue. He was more shaken by

Margery's peril than his own, for Haroun had heard her come and had turned to spring when the rifle-bullet met him through the eyes. Margery having done all that could be expected of her and saved Hector Wingfield's life, had arrived at the flood of tears she had desired, and was a very washed-out little person when, at least, she was persuaded to come to dinner.

"Lady Caroline and Miss Singleton found themselves obliged to leave before dinner", Hector Wingfield announced coolly, when the two ladies came into the drawing-room.

There had been a scene between mother and daughter, following an unsuccessful attempt by Miss Singleton to make matters right. She had not even attempted to seek help for the two in such deadly peril, but had locked herself into her bedroom till she was assured that Haroun had received the happy despatch. The noise of the scene had spread far beyond the ladies' private apartments, and had reached Hector Wingfield in his dressing room where he was attending to the wound which Haroun had made. It was something he did not like to think of afterwards.

Margery was very much shaken by what had happened, but in a day or two she began to get back her bloom and joyousness. Still she was eager to be gone, and she was very shy with Hector Wingfield. The days passed and the trunks were still unpacked; but now the leaves began to fall, and it was time for the mother and daughter to be getting back to their own place. Margery had accepted a post as modern languages teacher in a Girls' High School, so there was really no possibility of their staying into October.

All this she set forth to Hector Wingfield one day, when the first fire had been lit in the library, and they were alone in the house between lunch and tea. He had been very undemonstrative after his first outburst of noble praise. Apparently he was content to let them go.

"There would hardly be time now", he said, "to get a substitute for the school."

He was standing with his back to the fire looking down at her curled up like a kitten in a big, easy, chair, with a book open on her knee.

She looked up at him startled.

"A substitute!" she repeated. "Why should there be a substitute?"

"Because I don't feel I can do without you," he said, and lifted her quite easily from the big chair to his arms. "Margery, my dear, I am yours. Take the life you saved from Haroun and make the best of me. I know I don't deserve it, but—oh, Margery" . . . He spoke the words against her ear, in her hair, "I am a fool. She bewitched me, but I knew all the time it was you, only you. Child, I should have come back to you—your little pale, unhappy face would have driven out hers. You remember how she screamed, and brought the brute on me sooner than it would have been without that. She only thought to save herself. Can you forgive me, Margery, and trust me, after all?"

"I believe I knew you cared," she said. "I was only afraid you might find out too late."

"Haroun took care of that," he said grimly, and felt her tremble in his arms. "He showed me the difference between the true and false, the coward and my own brave girl."

KATHARINE TYNAN.

## THE RT. HON. V. S. SHRINIVAS SASTRI

### A STUDY IN PERSONALITY.

The champion had blown the horn and challenged the powers of darkness—The Pecksniffs, Grundies, and Partingtons—within the castle ; Mr. Sastri had challenged them by launching his Post-Puberty Marriage Bill in the Madras Legislative Council (1913). The spirit of Kali, the evil genius of the Modern Age, was abroad, they said, out to destroy the hoary fabric of Hinduism ; and assembled in the solemn conclaves and Parishads, they thundered solemn anathemas on their foe Mr. Sastri—the enemy of all *Sastris* ! But the thunders of doxy died away at the feet of the man who had given a shock to the sleeping Leviathan. In a world of divided wills and minds Mr. Sastri stood out conspicuously as one among those few who thought rightly, felt as they thought and acted as they felt. Jesuitical methods in politics which advocate roguery to dish roguery have been as obnoxious to him as Chanakyan casuistries in social reform. He execrates the dubious subtleties of political Machiavellis ; he would have no parley with them, would give them no quarter ; and he cannot understand the mentality of social reformers whose vehement ardour for a programme in the abstract, and *in general*, is only surpassed by their stout and unbending opposition to every single item of it. Integrity and probity are the most salient traits in the moral man, Sastri.

His law is reason and he depends on that law as the best of friends. He is anchored on great principles but insists on compromise *in subordination* to them, if circumstances demand it. He never forgets that in politics one has often to be satisfied with the second best. He sets his face steadily against movements for political paralysis, or political revolution, social revivalism or social reaction, against quietism and asceticism in morals, against economic reversion to the garden of Eden type, against obscurantism in thought and all violent excesses in action. He comes very near the definition of a complete personality—a personality

in which intellect seizes and holds a truth, love realizes its human relations, and will rests content with nothing less than incarnating the truth in a deed. His is a character which obstacles would not affright, but would rather rouse to a higher combative energy. In the Imperial Conference at the time he was sponsoring the resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions, there must have been moments of anxious tension potent to unnerve less courageous hearts with blank despair. Less optimistic natures would have given up our cause as lost,—so shattering must have been the opposition from adverse wills and minds—in those moments of hope deferred which make the heart sick.

This high courage and his staunch loyalty to the right are matched with a lofty spirit of sacrifice which made him resign in 1907 the head-mastership of the premier high school in Madras—a place of great prestige and honour—to join the Servants of India Society for a pittance knowing full well that the rewards of public life were as few as the dangers were many. Not even in the wildest dreams of personal ambition, if he was capable of any, could he have foreseen that he would attain to anything like the eminence he now occupies in Indian politics. And of course every pie that he earns beyond the salary allowed by the Society goes to swell its funds. Since he joined, he, a man of sleepless and tireless industry, has been wearing himself out with reckless prodigality, borrowing at usurious rate from the remnant of a once robust constitution which he had built up by vigorous exercises in boyhood and early manhood; and he has been bearing manfully his share of life's crosses. (Only a few months ago when he was at Geneva he heard that one of his two pet daughters in her teens closed her eyes in India). Ceaseless travel and mental toil are daily undermining his energies while he spends long hours often till 12 at night in counsel and consultation with his friends and followers; and the rest of the night is often spent—though friends entreat him not to do so—in excogitating ways to shorten the transition period of India's political advance.

This exalted character finds meet companionship in intellectual endowments of a high order,—in massive grasp of facts, thorough mastery of the problems of political science, (acquired when he was a school master) a fine memory, powers of swift

analysis and synthesis, trained alertness in catching the vital point in a complicated issue, and intuitive correctness in the judgment of men and affairs. A superb intellect, highly critical and judicious, wedded to lofty moral stamina forms the solid bulwark of the inner man. He has the attitude of the student clinging to him when he discusses with a practical shrewdness even some of the most casual problems of the day. Once, listening to an extempore discourse of his at the Deccan Sabha on 'Self-determination', 'Declaration of Rights' and other popular shibboleths we found ourselves employed by an atmosphere of Dyce, Bryce, Lowe, Sidgwick, Bagehot, and other sages of political science. His experience of men and affairs is world-wide, and is harvested from contact with personalities in various walks of life—from Peers of realm in England to Tom, Dick, and Harry, from the philosopher to the 'moron', from the English Die-hard to the Radical, from the Pandit to the most enlightened Liberal. Among modern Indian statesmen he has the largest international outlook and his vision extends far into the future "when the war-drum shall throb no longer, and the battle-flags shall be furled in the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World". There is the spirit of prophecy in his blood which makes him see the light beyond the storm. Born of poor parents and brought up in early poverty, his heart throbs with compassion for the poor and disinherited of the earth. But he knows that "we have not wings, we cannot soar" and that social revolution is a matter of time and toil. Rationalistic in thought, ecumenical in religion and catholic in all social matters, he is in the best sense of the term a Citizen of the World. Magnanimity is the keynote of his soul. He forgives his political enemies and refers to their merits with evident admiration. Even of Mr. Satyamurthi he speaks in private with affection and regard; and tells of Lala Lajpat Rai's work in America in terms of commendation. Political differences, however sharp and irreconcilable, do not chill the genial currents of his soul. To the editor of the *Janmabhumi* he wired from England: "With many differences, but unchanging love". For the moment when he thinks of revolutionaries and the havoc wrought by irresponsible political leaders his language is vibrant

with indignation ; and the next, when he thinks of the men *qua* men he is all sympathy and understanding. While in America he wrote on Gandhi, the man, in terms of profound veneration for his sublime self-surrender to his ideals. In Mr. Sastri's most indignant moments—as when he spoke on the Rowlatt Act—he never indulges even in a casual phrase of cynicism, never puts any uncharitable construction on the motives and words of his political opponents whether on the people's side or on the Government side. Sardonic spleen and hideous personalities are as far from his nature to indulge in as the taint from driven virgin snow.

His appeal is always to the fair-play and justice of his listeners, to the irrefragable verdict of facts, which explains why his famous speech on the Rowlatt Act went so straight into the hearts of the Government members that even some of them joined in the applause which greeted him when he sat down. In the course of that speech which deserves to be read and re-read, he said, "During the war we were hourly on our trial. We have given 100 millions. We have given this, we have given that. The other day we were told that the gift of 45 millions would also be a matter of test. We submitted to it. What test has been really applied to us to which we have not cheerfully submitted? I can hardly think of one. Bidden to bring the milk of a beast of prey, we have brought a jugful of the milk of the tigress. Are you going to throw it aside and say, "Bring me the milk of the male tiger? That is not fair". Again, at the Guildhall, on 27th July when he and the Maharao of Kutch were accorded the freedom of the city of London and he rose to respond, he took occasion (not to mouth pompous commonplaces) to drive home the imperishable ethics of Empire and *disturb* the conscience of statesmen from its usual pose towards India and all coloured races. Said Mr. Sastri : "I accept the freedom of the City of London not as a personal distinction but in all sincerity and hopefulness as a symbol of, and prelude to, the conferment on India of the British Empire. On the highest authority the British Empire has been declared to be without distinction of any kind; neither race nor colour were recognised to divide man from man. so long as he was a subject of the Empire. As in the great temple of Juggarnaut, where Brahmin and Pariah alike joined in common

devotion and worship, so in the British Empire, the greatest temple of freedom on this planet, he blasphemed and violated her high command who raised barriers and said to his fellow-worshipper, 'There shalt thou abide, come not near me.'..... If you have come into this great heritage of freedom, representative institutions, Parliamentary Government, and other forms of human polity which civilization has evolved, be not like a miser who keeps his goods to himself but gets no benefit from them. He evokes the envy and hatred of the neighbourhood and even of his own family. Rather let it be said of you that you keep not the best for yourselves. Let your children and grand children in the remote generation read in their histories your record epitomized something like this:—England took charge of a people divided from her by colour, by race and culture. She fitted them for the tasks of Empire, and when the time was ripe she gladly admitted them to be equal partners in the glory of Empire and the service of humanity".

Language worthy of Burke and Gladstone. Indeed, when he sat down, Imperialists of all shades must have felt that the noblest voice in themselves had taken shape as an external monitor to warn and beckon. It is this noble morality and this vision, this stately temper, and the large and generous interpretation of expediency which form the hall-mark of his orations. His speech at the Assembly of the League of Nations is the very voice of international conscience.

In eloquence, he is, like Burke, the representative of impassioned reason. In his speeches, narration, argument and emotional appeal are skilfully intermingled. Facts are connected with principles; thought is penetrated by subdued feeling; and the whole is fused together by the fire of a powerful and ardent mind. He indulges in no declamation, and in all his speeches, as in Bright's, it would be hard to find a purple patch. Of his eloquence as of Demosthenes and of Burke (in his American speeches) it could be said that no orator is more sparing in the use of ornament for its own sake. His style is lucid, dignified and classic, with apt felicity of phrase, and his pronunciation meticulously accurate. The right word seems to lackey him with the fidelity of spirits responding to the wand of a magician. His

perorations are in that quiet Attic taste which prefers that they should close calmly like Athenian tragedies. There is in his utterance a deep-running and innate modesty, an urbanity of tone, an irresistible earnestness and moderation (as used to characterize the late Mr. Gokhale) and a delicacy in referring to 'unfriends' which immediately establish a *rappo*rt and a moral *entente* between himself and his hearers, unless indeed these are fanatically pre-resolved to silence him. His gestures are delightfully varied, expressive, and gracious, while there is a certain charm in the timbre of his voice—a pleasing *je ne sais quoi* which makes the listener hang on his lips. No wonder Sir Thomas Smart eulogized him as the Empire's silver-tongued orator; and Lord Birkenhead said of his speech at the Imperial Parliamentary dinner (when, as Mr. Polak says, every sentence of his told and brought off cheers and laughter) that it was worth while to have come from afar to hear it, while the master of Balliol who presided over his Oxford lecture, told Lord Lytton that he never realized how beautiful language was till he heard Mr. Sastri.

Politicians often indulge in cheap heroics before the people, tear the passion of rage against the Government to tatters, and make a bold bid for popularity by never mentioning the people's faults and flinging them instead lollipops of flattery. These fire-eaters who play to the gallery are often past masters in the art of ingenious evasions when brought to book; and several of them cleverly change their phraseology when speaking before the Government. When public life is so vitiated by many using on one platform language which they would recant, explain away or blush for in another, Mr. Sastri's is the language of veracity and bears the *imprimatur* of authenticity. His is the eloquence which "sober-suited freedom" wears—"her own proper robe of equity, self-control, and reasonableness". He dresses up "no commonplace into a vague sublimity". Exceptionally free from all empty catchwords, his speeches are the best antidotes to the bunkum and claptrap which has spread like a disease over so large a part of the political utterances in modern India.

Mr. Sastri is no less successful as a debator. Phenomenally quick to grasp a point he often states an opponent's case better than he (the opponent) does himself, and floors him with terrible

go and power. In private discussions with friends he is scrupulously fair to the other side of the case, and when he presides, he weighs and ponders over the issues and sums up the case with a finality and judiciousness that are all his own. In the Committees of the League of Nations of which he was a member, the negotiation of business was often so delicate and ticklish that, had it not been for Mr. Sastri's superior tact, alertness, and subtle acumen, for his readiness in minatory and precatory language as the opponent was the one or the other, some of the questions—as for instance, the intricate opium question, might have been clinched prejudicially to India. So deftly did the Chinese delegates camouflage their national self-interests as a humane policy that it would have been difficult for less able men than Mr. Sastri to frustrate their underground tactics. But we are sure they have learnt to respect the Indian representative.

Such varied gifts are rarely set off by a modesty so never-failing and deep-running as in Mr. Sastri's nature. His is the modesty which lies in adequate self-measure and self-criticism,—a quality which the poet defines in memorable words as 'self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control and which Ruskin expatiates on in a remarkable passage of allusions and 'cross-allusions' in his *Queen of the Air*. In Mr. Sastri's public life this is seen in the chariness with which he trenches on a ground on which he doesn't feel himself quite sure. Speaking on the use of fire-arms last year he was at pains to tell the Government that he was no lawyer and would venture only to recommend a Committee to enquire into the rules, but not take it on himself to go further; he had told them the same thing when he was fulminating against the Rowlatt Act. His disclaimers were however of no use at the Law Committee of the League of Nations at Geneva where after a ten minutes speech of his on the manner of passing amendments to the Covenant, the redoubtable lawyers who were his colleagues could not bring themselves to believe that Mr. Sastri was no lawyer, and wondered why he should labour so hard to conceal his juristic qualifications! Once when I expressed to him a little admiration at the ease with which he unravelled the tangled skein of international affairs to a knot of political friends, with noble humility he said that he deserved

no credit for what he knew, as any one fairly posted up with the fundamental issues could easily get to know it all.

The meekness of his soul is seen most in his reverence to elders. Of his master, Gokhale, he speaks with bated breath and whispering humbleness ; in the dinner he gave to Lord Lytton it was no empty convention which made him say that even the reverence and respect he showed to elders did not prevent him from having tussles with Lord Southborough in the Franchise Committee. This same nobility of soul is betokened by his readiness to encourage the aspirations of young hearts, nay pardon their petty weaknesses and even endure at times their boring, inconsequential talk. He is often reticent in company, never overbears, never wearies the dinner-table by a monologue as many a political leader does.

Mr. Sastri is a genial conversationalist abounding in anecdotes and personal recollections garnered from varied experiences. His ease of manner and spontaneity, his courtesy and sensitiveness of response, his patience in listening and his omnivorous inquisitiveness, his happy manner of narration and his hearty spirit of companionship are such as to make his opponents say (as Gladstone's did of him) that 'it is dangerous to meet him because one might be forced to leave off hating him.' It is this genius for fellowship that has made Mr. Sastri so welcome in all circles, from the King Emperor's family party to the tea-table of the humblest Indian citizen.

Mr. Sastri's is an intensely affectionate nature, strong and sweet with nothing mawkishly sentimental about it. So warm and loving is he to the few friends who understand him that they cleave to him with a fervent devotion. His homely simplicity goes home to their hearts ; and all could share in the largesse of the man's sweetness and *bonhomie*. His old students, and especially the most brilliant of them speak of him in terms of the highest reverence and affection. Endued with a faculty for the storm and stress of political life he is yet like the *Happy warrior* of Wordsworth "a soul whose master-bias leans to home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes." His care-crossed public life is sweetened, and he is fortified in his high purposes by the love of

his wife, a lady singularly refined, noble, and cultured. Always a student, with the temper of a student, he never yields to a myopic feeling, to which politicians often become a prey that politics are everything in life. He has the deepest reverence for poets and philosophers who, Shelley says, are 'the unacknowledged legislators of the world'. An ardent lover of letters, some of his best friends are men of letters; and often a shade of regret passes his mind that in the crowded life of politics he is left without those fountains of spiritual replenishment, of relief from anxieties and of solace under disappointments, which issue from master-minds of the world's thought.

There is in his manners as in his oratory something of what Matthew Arnold calls the 'grand style'. He is cast in too large a mould to have the pettiness of ruffled vanity or to abuse his predominance by treating any one as an inferior. He never lets slip from his mind the democratic idea that public affairs should be discussed by all who are willing to do so; and he is anxious to take the opinion of the least among his adherents. In the Servants of India Society I have seen him receive suggestions candidly, gratefully acknowledge his indebtedness to those who help him in any piece of work, and readily confess a mistake. He is one of the least autocratic, though one of the most dynamic of modern political leaders. "Leadership of democracy", Mr. Sastri once wrote, "is something like happiness—best attained when not sought directly and consciously"; and nobody reckons this rede more faithfully than himself.

The doctrine of Plato that the grand and noble soul is clad in a grand and noble vesture is realised in the form and mien of Mr. Sastri. He is a well-proportioned, upstanding man with a royal bearing and a Leckyan sweep of forehead. His mobile lips and Meredithian mouth seemed formed for oration; the firm chin and the massive jaws show strength of will. The drowsy eye with keen penetrating gaze, quick-glancing and kindly, the intellectual shape of head and the smile on the lips which bids welcome to all, bespeak the born leader that he is. A genuine patriotism glows on the altar of his soul. He deems national righteousness as essential to national honour. The spirit of his patriotism is that of Pythagoras, so well expressed by J. R. Lowell :

“I love my country so as only they  
 Who love a mother fit to die for may.  
 I love her old renown, her ancient fame :  
 What better proof than that I loathe her shame ?”

Moderate politics mean political action determined by a just knowledge of the temper and character of the people on the one side and of the Government on the other, by a knowledge of past evolution and present difficulties. It is political action dictated by truth in the *first place* and expediency in the second. The liberal politician regards politics as an art of methods and results, provided the methods are right and righteous and the results are achieved along the line of least resistance. He distrusts and opposes his force to the Scylla of reaction and the Charybdis of revolution ; and he relies on knowledge, patience, perseverance, seasonable occasions to achieve his ends. Of this school of politics—no caviare to the general—Mr. Sastri is the most towering exponent at present in India.

The other day when at the Deccan Sabha he said that he reverently laid his honours at the feet of mother India, was there a heart not touched ? In August last as we read the news flashed by Reuter that at the Empire Parliamentary Dinner, when Mr. Sastri rose to respond, the serried ranks of M. P's rose in honour of India, which patriot-heart did not leap for joy ? A decade ago none in his happiest hour of clairvoyance would have dreamt that a day would come when India's representative would be the cynosure of Imperial Statesman, the recipient of the highest honour that could be conferred on a citizen of the British Empire. Mr. Sastri has raised the self-respect of India higher in the Councils of the World and the Comity of nations, just as Tagore has lifted her up to lofty eminence in the Republic of Letters, and Dr. Bose in the realms of science, and he, like them, has shown the world that India has a momentous part to play in furthering the high destiny of man in this orb of ours.

R. SADASIV AIYAR.

## LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

### A LITERARY CAUSERIE

#### The Preternatural in Shakespeare.

“Thine too these golden keys; immortal Bay!  
This can unlock the gates of Joy;  
Of horror that, and thrilling fears,  
Or ope the sacred source of sympathetic tears.”

Grey—*The Progress of Poesy*.

“There can be little doubt that Shakespeare was the most universal genius that ever lived.” Hence it is that we of little minds, when we want to attain to at least some appreciation of his greatness, have literally to pick him to pieces. Only then are we able to see at least a little of his universal genius. The beauty of his characterisation, the skill of his plot-construction, the glory of his diction, the variety of his humour, the sanity of his outlook on life, have all to be taken up singly, before the genius exhibited in each case can be appreciated. And this is the only justification for such a study as the present,—an attempt to see how Shakespeare used the preternatural and how his greatness is manifested in it.

The use of the preternatural in literature satisfies the innate curiosity in mankind, to know something beyond its normal ken. But such use is possible only in ages where the preternatural is strongly believed in. In an age of matter-of-factness, or of scepticism, the use of the preternatural cannot please, but can only provoke incredulity. The extensive use of the preternatural in the Elizabethan age is only natural. It was an age of Romance, an age of new things and new ideas. The world was being discovered anew. Things unheard of before were now talked about. Stories of “mountaineers dewlapp'd like bulls”, and of men “whose heads stood in their breasts”, were being believed in. The general feeling was,

There are more things in heaven and earth  
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Therefore the strong belief of the age in the preternatural and a correspondingly extensive use of magic, witchcraft, elves, fairies, ghosts and spirits in the literature of the period is not to be wondered at.

The use of the preternatural in any age, or by any individual author, seems to me to be one of the tests of literary merit. Any one comparing the decadent use of the preternatural at the end of the eighteenth century in the Radcliffian type of the novel, with the subtle mystery of *The Ancient Mariner*, will admit, that the use of the preternatural can be made, at least to a certain extent, a test of literary merit. If so, we shall be able to judge Shakespeare's place among literary artists by comparing his use of the preternatural with the methods of his contemporaries and others. We shall be able to see that even though Shakespeare used the preternatural just because it was the literary fashion of the day, and because his audience wanted it, yet with the touch of a genius he redeemed it from being the merely horrible, which it was in the hands of most of his contemporaries.

The ghosts in *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*; the elves and fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; the mock-spirits in *Merry Wives of Windsor*; the witches in *Macbeth*; the apparitions in *Macbeth* and *Cymbeline*; the magic-wand of the *Tempest*; the oracles of Apollo in the *Winter's Tale*;—these are the items of the preternatural in Shakespeare's plays.

Note how, in the pure comedies, elves and fairies are used; while in the tragedies, ghosts, witches and apparitions are being used. Such a use by Shakespeare is not only in conformity with the dramatic conventions of his age, but is also in accordance with acknowledged principles of dramatic composition. In comedy we deal with the sub-human; man himself being depicted as less great and good than he really is. Man is either ridiculed, (e.g. in *Merry Wives of Windsor*); or made to commit foolish mistakes, (e.g. *Love's Labour Lost*). In tragedy, men are made heroes. So, in comedy, we want only a sub-human agency, if at all anything preternatural is to be used; while in tragedy, we want the super-human.

Now to a detailed consideration of how Shakespeare used the different items of the preternatural in his plays. In the first

place, the preternatural in Shakespeare, is made to be absolutely essential to the working of the plot, both in comedy and in tragedy. The *Midsummer Night's Dream* is the story of the tangled love-affairs of four Athenian lovers. The fairy-king Oberon is the *deus ex machina* of the play. It is he that creates the tangle, and then unwinds it. It is under his orders that the juice of love-in-idleness is used and the confusion begins. It is he who sets it right by the use of the other juice. It is Oberon who is made to work out the plot for the dramatist. And note how necessary the preternatural has become to the very conception of the plot. Here are two pairs of lovers at cross purposes. Two young men are after the hand and heart of Hermia. Leysander is her choice, while Demetrius is her father's choice. Demetrius is loved by Helena, but he does not care for her. How is this state of things to be set right? If only Demetrius could be made to love Helena, all will be well. Man, surely, cannot do this. We want something preternatural to effect this. And Shakespeare sought the help of Oberon. Secondly, the preternatural appears in the play not merely in the person of Oberon, but also in the sub-plot of the quarrel between the fairy-King and Queen. This sub-plot is no mere addition to the play, but is essential to its working out. For, it is the quarrel with his wife, that first suggests to Oberon, and his intention to be avenged on her gives him the opportunity, for the use of the magical juice.

Similarly, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, fairies, (of course, mock-fairies) are used to carry out a plan of vengeance on Falstaff; and to bring about the finale of the sub-plot of Anne Page and her lovers. A popular Elizabethan idea is exploited for the working out of the story.

As in comedy, so in tragedy, the use of the supernatural is always as an essential part of the story; though here Shakespeare uses all his artistic powers both in the varieties of the preternatural used, and in the manner of its use. In *Hamlet*, for example, it is the ghost that starts the action of the play. It reveals the murder of the elder Hamlet. Neither the fact of the murder nor the manner in which it had been carried out had been suspected by Hamlet before the revelation of the ghost. Note

here again how the preternatural becomes absolutely necessary. There was no other way in which the murder could be revealed. Hence the recourse to the preternatural. Secondly, the ghost asks to be avenged. Prior to that Hamlet had no such idea of revenge. It is therefore the ghost that furnishes the motive of the play; and sets the play in motion. Again at its second appearance it came to whet Hamlet's "blunted purpose", and such prompting was most necessary to one of Hamlet's nature. Not only had he "lapsed in time and passion", but had even begun to doubt the veracity of the ghost. He had arranged the enactment of the play in order to make sure of his uncle's guilt. The second appearance of the ghost is also necessary.

In *Richard III* also the ghosts are essential to the play; though here their appearance is for a different dramatic purpose, but none the less essential to the play. The tragedy of *King Richard III* is the tragedy of a bad conscience. Richard is defeated because he is rendered weak by his coward conscience. The Elizabethan idea of poetic justice was that retribution must follow sin, as night follows day. Vengeance must come quick and true. But the contribution of Shakespeare's genius to this idea was that the revenge is carried out not by any outside agency, but by the offender's own character and conscience. Hence the tortures of a guilty conscience and the weakness it engenders are the subject of dramatic presentation here. Richard's murders and perjuries have to be avenged. The ghosts or all the people he had murdered appear to him at the one critical moment of his life, just before the battle when all England had risen against him, to wrest from him the power and place which had come to him by the fact of these murders. But the ghosts come not to take revenge. In fact they are merely subjective ghosts, the creations of his own guilty conscience. See what King Richard says :

I did but dream.

O Coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me !  
What ! do I fear myself? there is none else by :  
Methought the souls of all that I had murdered  
Came to my tent :

The ghosts come, but not for revenge. They simply say  
 "Think on the tower and me: despair and die";  
 "Think upon Grey, and let thy soul despair."  
 "Think upon Vangham and with guilty fear  
 Let fall thy lance! despair and die".

And Richard cries,

"All several sins, all used in each degree,  
 Throng to the bar, crying all, Guilty! Guilty!  
 I shall despair".

This is King Richard's tragedy; and this is the part which the ghosts play in it; that they work out the poet's idea of poetical justice and retribution.

The same is the case in the tragedy of Brutus in *Julius Cæsar*. The ghost of Julius Cæsar which appears to Brutus at Sardis, and then at Philippi, is surely the creation of Brutus's own guilty conscience. Julius Cæsar was too noble a spirit to think of vengeance. His ghost is there, but not to avenge the murder. His ghost has been called up by Brutus's own fancy.

Ha! who comes there?

I think it is the weakness of mine eyes  
 That shapes this monstrous apparition.

So again, in *Macbeth*, the ghost of Banquo is also subjective; —a creation of Macbeth's fancy. Banquo is expected to come to the banquet at Macbeth's house; but Macbeth had arranged that he should be murdered on the way; and it had been done. At the banquet, where all the others are expecting Banquo's arrival, and Macbeth alone knows that he will not come, Macbeth sees the ghost of Banquo while the others, including Lady Macbeth, do not see it. It appears at a moment when Macbeth, with masterly hypocrisy, says,

Here had we now our country's honour roof'd  
 Were the graced person of our Banquo present.

After disappearing for a moment it re-appears when Macbeth again hypocritically drinks to the health of,

Our dear friend Banquo whom we miss,  
 Would he were here.

The moment Macbeth begins to think of Banquo the ghost appears, *i.e.*, it becomes visible, to Macbeth, only. It is surely the creation of Macbeth's guilty conscience, "the very painting of your fear", as Lady Macbeth says. The ghost does not come for revenge or for any other purpose. It has no objective existence. Similarly in the other place in the play where the ghost appears,—namely at the end of the procession of eight Kings whose apparition the witches call up,—the ghost has come there unknown to and even unseen by the witches. What the witches called up was the apparition of the eight Kings only; the idea that "blood-bolted Banquo points at the forms" was Macbeth's own fancy. The witches could not understand why Macbeth should have been taken aback. "But why stands Macbeth thus amazedly", asks the first witch. The purpose of the introduction of the ghost of Banquo at these places is surely to illustrate the tortures of a guilty conscience.

The introduction of the witches in the play is also a master stroke of genius, which could only be appreciated when the witches of other dramatists are compared with these. The witches here are the agency which begin the action of the play, --as does the ghost in *Hamlet*. It is they that fire the ambition of Macbeth with their prophecies. Macbeth does not seem to have entertained any ideas of royalty before that. By their prophecies with regard to Banquo, they give Macbeth a rival whom he plans, then and there, to clear out of his way. And the whole action begins. Again, in the middle of the play, the progress of Macbeth in the path he has cut out for himself would seem to have come to an end. Banquo had been murdered by assassins hired by Macbeth. But it had so happened that the son of Banquo had escaped alive, and had gone beyond the power of Macbeth. Macbeth does not know what to do and so he determines,

I will to-morrow,  
And betimes. I will unto the weird sisters;  
More shall they speak;

and accordingly on the morrow he consults the witches, who again give certain prophetic warnings, through apparitions

which they call up. The action again proceeds. The first witch has told Macbeth to be beware of the thane of Fife, Macduff. But soon news is received that Macduff has also fled the country. So Macbeth orders that Macduff's wife and children should be murdered and this is carried out. Thus it is that the preternatural becomes absolutely essential to the working of the plot.

Passing on the final romantic comedies, here also the supernatural wherever used is a vital part of the play. In the *Tempest* magic forms the whole basis of the plot. It is a story of magic and enchantment. The raising of the storm, the prevention of the loss of life, the gathering together of the people in the island, the bringing about of the meeting between Ferdinand and Miranda,—everything is carried out by magic. Without magic the story cannot work. It is the one wholly supernatural play in Shakespeare.

In the *Winter's Tale*, the oracle of Apollo is the preternatural item used. And it is vital to the progress of the play. Leontes has conceived a wholly unreasoning passion of jealousy. Obsessed with that idea, no amount of pleading has been able to move him; and nothing less than the supernatural oracle at Delphi would have been able to convince him of his mistake. He is inclined to disbelieve even the oracle; but the news of the death of his son is necessary to give the shock; and then instantaneously he is struck with remorse.

Apollo! Pardon

My great profanation 'gainst thine own.

I'll reconcile me to Polixenes

New woo my queen.

One other point has to be noticed in the use of the preternatural in these last plays. One common form in which the supernatural is introduced in these plays is in the form of Masques;—the masques of Iris, Ceres, and Juno followed by a dance of the nymphs in the *Tempest*; the dance of the satyrs in *Winter's Tale*; and the apparition of the father, mother and brothers of Posthumus in *Cymbeline*. These are introduced mainly to satisfy the cravings of the audience of the day for

pageantry. But even here Shakespeare makes them serve a subsidiary purpose. For example, the point of the introduction of ghosts in *Cymbeline* seems to be in the discussion they have among themselves as to why Posthumus should be afflicted for no fault of his own; and in the answer of Jupiter.

Jupiter, thou King of Gods  
Why has thou thus adjourn'd  
The graces for his merits due  
Being all to dolours turn'd.

\* \* \* \*

Since, Jupiter, our son is good,  
Take off his miseries.

Jupiter then comes down, in all his magnificence, and replies,

Be not with mortal accidents oppress'd;  
No care of yours, it is; you know it's ours.  
Whom best I love, I cross, to make my gift,  
The more delayed delighted.

The apparition affords an opportunity for Shakespeare to explain his idea of pain and misery in this world; his explanation of the sufferings of the good. Here is the touch of a genius which transmutes necessity into a virtue.

Compare this masterly working-in of the preternatural with what his predecessors had done. Kyd had introduced a ghost in the *Spanish Tragedy*, for the only reason that Seneca had done so in his plays. The story of the play is the revenge of a father (Heironimo) for the murder of his son (Andrea), who had been treacherously killed by his rival in love. The ghost introduced is, as in *Hamlet*, that of the murdered person. But what a contrast in the part the ghost is made to play! In the *Spanish Tragedy* all that the ghost does is to appear regularly at the end of every act and tell the audience what they ought already to know, if they had followed the play at all.

“Come we for this from depth of underground  
To see him feas! that gave my death's wound”  
(Act I, Scene VI).

"I looked that Balthazar should have been slain  
But 'tis my friend Horatio that is slain"

(Act II, Scene VI).

"Heironimo with Lorenzo is join'd in league  
And intercepts our passage to revenge"

(Act III, Scene XVI).

"And now my hopes have end in their effects,  
When blood and sorrow finish my desires".

(Act IV, Scene V).

In other words, the ghost, used as a Chorus, merely summarises for us the progress of the action in each Act. The ghost is certainly a superfluity. It has been introduced merely,—to use a colloquialism,—for the fun of it.

This is tragedy. In Comedy, Robert Greene had attempted the mingling of the preternatural in his "*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*". The story of the play is the love-story of Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Margaret, a country wench. Prince Edward first fell in love with the girl, and sent his friend Lacy to woo the girl for him. But the messenger himself fell in love with her. And the girl herself returned his love; while she did not care for the prince. Prince Edward gets angry; but soon helps Lacy, and everything ends as it ought to. There is also an underplot of magic,—the story of the skill of Friar Bacon and Bungay in magic. But the two plots are practically independent of each other. The only place where they can be said to interact is when Prince Edward looks through the magic crystal of Friar Bacon and sees Lacy courting Margaret on his own account; and the 'intrigue' of the play is thus brought about. The connection therefore of the preternatural with the plot is very slight.

Marlowe had also attempted, in *Dr. Faustus*, to deal with the supernatural. *Dr. Faustus* is a story of the preternatural, just as *The Tempest* is a story of magic. It is not an attempt to mingle the preternatural with the natural. It is the tragedy of a man who, "falling to a devilish exercise", "surfeits upon cursed necromancy." The play bears no comparison with the *Tempest*. It has none of the human interest, none of the

splendid love-story, none of the charm, of Shakespeare's one wholly supernatural play. Thus is Shakespeare's greatness seen in contrast.

Shakespeare's intertwining in this manner of the preternatural and the natural is based on Shakespeare's belief in the close relationship between the two, and in the possibility of the former influencing human life and action. The belief was, to a certain extent, common to all Elizabethans, but to none was it so real as to Shakespeare. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, a whole lot of evils have, it appears, come upon the world because the fairy King and Queen have quarrelled. The winds

"have sucked up from the sea  
Contagious fogs; which, falling in the land,  
Have every pelting river made so proud  
That they have overborne their continents;  
The ox hath therefore stretched his yoke in vain,  
The ploughman lost his sweat and the green corn  
Hath rotted ere his youth attained a beard.  
And this same progeny of evils come  
From our debate, from our dissension."

Lady Macbeth says in one place, "Come, you spirits that tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me now". So also, it is the influence of the preternatural that leads Macbeth on in his path. For, hear what Hecate says.

I shall raise such artificial spirits  
As by the strength of their illusion  
Shall draw him on to his confusion:  
He shall spurn fate, scorn death, and fear.  
His hopes 'bove wisdom, grace and fear.

It is this belief in the influence of the preternatural that leads to Shakespeare's belief in omens,—supernatural warnings. It seems to me that there is absolutely no doubt that Shakespeare did believe in omens. In *Julius Cæsar*, we have conclusive evidence on the point. The play, *Julius Cæsar* seems to me to be the tragedy of Brutus; the murder of Julius Cæsar being only a sub-plot. As in all Shakespeare's plays, the plot and the sub-plot are very closely intertwined. The purpose of the sub-plot

seems to me to be to picture the nemesis of over-confidence and the neglect of supernatural warnings. Julius Cæsar is warned, at the very outset, of the ides of March by the soothsayer. The country is affected. Earth shakes like a thing infirm. There is a tempest dropping fire. A common slave held up his hand which did flame and burn. Men all in fire walk up and down the streets.

I believe they are portentous things  
Unto the climate they point upon.

They are but

instruments of fear and warning  
Unto some monstrous state.

Surely something was going to happen. And on the night before the ides of March, Cæsar is warned by divers omens. The next morning his wife tries to dissuade him from going to the Capitol. The augurers send word that he should not go out that day. But Cæsar only spurns these suggestions and goes to meet his doom. His is the nemesis of over-confidence. Again, on the night of Duncan's murder,

Our chimneys were blown down;  
Lamentings heard in the air, strange screams of death

\* \* \*

.....the obscure bird  
Clamour'd the live long night; some say the earth  
Was feverous and did shake.

Shakespeare's belief in omens is surely something more than merely artistic. It is almost personal.

Aristotle has given his authoritative sanction for the use of the preternatural in dramatic art. He says, "The element of the wonderful is admitted in Tragedy"—for the simple reason that the wonderful is pleasing and the aim of all art is to please;—but with this proviso, "The poet should prefer probable impossibilities to improbable possibilities". That is to say, in introducing the preternatural, the poet should minimise its incredulity by giving it a plausible air.

Now this is what Shakespeare does; and it is but a further

sign of his greatness. Whenever the preternatural is introduced, Shakespeare carefully adjusts the accompanying incidents in order to make it credible. For example, take the familiar first scene of *Hamlet*. The ghost has got to be introduced at the very beginning of the play, for, as has already been pointed out, it is the ghost that has got to begin the action of the play. Just notice the devices that Shakespeare has adopted in order to make its appearance appear natural.

(1) The ghost is expected by the guard on duty. The ghost had already appeared twice,—on the two previous nights. Now, there is absolutely no other point in these previous appearances except to make its appearance on the night in question expected. For there is no necessity for a ghost which wants to speak to Hamlet only, to appear to the guard. Hamlet was not of the guard. Even if the guards saw it, they were not likely to report it to Hamlet. The ghost appears to the guard, but not in order that the information might reach Hamlet. If the ghost wanted it could have appeared straight to Hamlet, wherever he was. So the only point in thus saying that the ghost had already appeared twice is to make its appearance on this night expected. (2) It is a very dark night, so dark that persons even near are not visible. Barnardo has to ask Marcellus, "Is Horatio here?" even when Horatio was quite near. It is in fact Horatio who answers that very question. (3) It is a very cold night, piercing cold. The guard were feeling physically very uncomfortable. (4) Mentally they are anxious and afraid of the "dreaded sight". Francisco is in a hurry to get off. Barnardo does not want to be alone for a minute. He tells Francisco to send Horatio and Marcellus at once if he met them. These are all conditions which render men susceptible to supernatural manifestations. (5) The exact moment of the ghost's appearance is the moment Barnardo has begun his description of its former appearance, in order to convince unbelieving Horatio. The story is cut short by the very appearance of the ghost. Do you want any more artistic and appropriate setting to the introduction of the preternatural?

Take again the case of Cæsar's ghost appearing to Brutus at Sardis (in *Julius Cæsar*). It has already been pointed out

that in these cases of 'subjective' ghosts, it is the mind of the person who sees the ghost that is responsible for its appearance; and the state of the person's mind is thoroughly prepared to that effect. But even more than this is the case here. The night on which the ghost appeared began with an unfortunate quarrel between Brutus and Cassius.

• This was an ill beginning of the night;  
Never come such division 'tween souls.—(IV, iii 232).

The quarrel is with reference to some money which Brutus had asked of Cassius, wherewith to pay his army. The army was evidently not very enthusiastic; and Brutus was not optimistic either.

The enemy increases every day:  
We, at the height, are ready to decline.

In addition to these public anxieties, news had been received that Portia, his wife, had died. Is there any wonder then, that Brutus cried out,

"O Cassius! I am sick of many griefs".

This is the state of his mind on that night. Yet, these anxieties are put by; and Brutus sits down with his lieutenants for a council.

Come in Titinius! welcome, good Messala!  
Now sit we close about this taper here  
And call in question our necessities.

They confer till it is very late; and "there is no more to say".

The deep of night is crept on our talk,  
And nature must obey necessity.

All retire to rest. And yet Brutus does not get sleep. He is afraid of being alone. He asks Varro and Claudius to sleep in his tent. He calls Lucius to play to him; but the poor boy is overpowered by sleep. Brutus takes up a book to read. The taper burns ill. The superstition was that when ghosts appear tapers burn blue and go out. The ghost of Cæsar appears. You can well believe it. It is but natural that it should appear at such a time.

Space does not permit such detailed examination of the "credibilising" process in every case when the supernatural is introduced. The witches of *Macbeth* appear in thunder and lightning. The fairies of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the *Merry Wives of Windsor* work in the night. The magic land of the *Tempest* is somewhere in the Mediterranean ; but no man knows its location. Distance, night, vagueness, romance,—these are all aids to render the preternatural credible.

A belief,—more artistic than personal perhaps,—in the intimate connection between the natural and the preternatural ; coupled with a master-workman's perception of the necessity for catering to the public taste ; modified, however, by the fine sense of an artistic genius, appreciating the importance of probabilising the incredible,—these are the items that make up Shakespeare's genius as exhibited in his use of the preternatural.

RAJAIAH D. PAUL.

## THE BOOK OF THE MONTH\*.

### INDIAN RAILWAYS.

The means by which the products of labour and thought, and the people who labour and think are transferred from place to place is more than any other thing essential to social and industrial advancement. No nation can be said to have risen above the primitive stage of society which has not made any advance in this direction. But this art of all others has been the latest in attaining a state of perfection. So late indeed that the future historian of social progress will record without any real violation of truth that its creation is one of the events which has most evidently signalized the present generation. These were the views of an eminent economist and a railwayman in the fifties of the last century and the facts uttered so many years ago still remain the same. Nevertheless, the interest taken by an average Indian in matters of transportation facilities, especially Railways, has been characterized so far with a paucity that can safely be said to be just enough to swear by. Even those who are anxious to make a systematic study of the subject are hampered by want of a connected and reliable history of the railroads in India. It has consequently remained a neglected subject, and instead of serving its legitimate object, has remained until to-day a source of burden to the tax-payer and a misery for the development of social bitterness and racial strife. *Indian Railways* by Mr. Tiwari should therefore be welcomed as the first book of its kind which, if read and assimilated, will create an interest in the subject and enable its readers to pursue the question to its logical end. With the growing commercial and industrial life of the country the publication of such a volume is a necessity and coming as it does from an author who had 37 years' close connection with one of the biggest trunk lines in India and who is widely read and travelled the views expressed carry a special weight being not only sober and sound but based

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\**The Indian Railways* by Rai Saheb Pandit Chandrika Prasad Tiwari, Scottish Mission Industries Ltd., Ajmere, 1921. Price Rs. 10/-.

on experience derived from other countries. It is written in a lucid style and deals thoroughly in a concise manner with the administrative and financial aspects of the questions at present facing the country. It contains a critical survey of the current administration and points the existing defects in the administrative machinery with constructive proposals. We would quote below some of the suggestions put forward by the author to enable the readers of the review to form an idea of the vastness of the points raised in the volume :—

- (1) Provincialization of the railways and reform of the Railway Board.
- (2) State Railways gradually for all the Railways.
- (3) Reorganisation of the system of working and establishment of Railway Schools and Colleges to secure a maximum of efficiency with the minimum of labour and cost.
- (4) Assimilation of the Indian Railways Act with the English Railways Act.
- (5) Reduction of salaries of higher officials.
- (6) Inspection and passing of Railway Stores purchased from contractors by a committee instead of officials.
- (7) Increase in the number of daily passenger trains run on the Railways to avoid overcrowding.
- (8) Improvements to be made in the third class carriages.
- (9) Economic use of wagon stock and curtailment of capital outlay thereon.
- (10) Revision of through rates and fares for through traffic.
- (11) Larger employment of Indians in the higher posts of the superior as well as subordinate grades.
- (12) Abolition of the autocratic powers of officials over railway staff.

It must not, however, be concluded from the quotations made above that these are the only reforms suggested. On the other hand the book is full of instruction and useful suggestions based on convincing facts and figures. One may not necessarily agree with all that the author has said but the publication is of such an intrinsic interest that no student of Indian Economics should fail to include it in his Library. A special chapter is

devoted to the report of the Acworth Committee and we notice with great pleasure that the author endorses most of the recommendations made by the majority group, which includes the Chairman Sir William Acworth, an acknowledged authority on Railways and an enthusiastic supporter of company management. That an expert holding such prominent views on the subject should recommend State Management in India deserves more than a passing consideration. We take the liberty of quoting the author's summing up of the advantages to be derived from state management. They are :—

- (a) The railways would be managed as one concern upon uniform principles instead of as different undertakings under different administrations with divided and conflicting interests as at present.
- (b) There would be one simple tariff of rates and fares and uniform classification of goods on all State railways, removing all the puzzling complications which nobody seems to understand at present.
- (c) All surplus profits would remain in the State treasury.
- (d) Working expenses would be greatly reduced by economy in the cost of haulage, by direct routing of traffic under uniform mileage or through scale rates, advantageous concentration of surplus rolling stock, reduction of salaries of higher officials and London Board expenses, and abolition of the hire system for rolling stock, and, generally speaking,
- (e) there would be greater attention paid to the convenience and interest of Indians.

With regard to the recommendation for a separate budget for the railways about which the report is unanimous Mr. Tiwari's opinion are that for the development of railways, a separate budget as recommended is necessary but from the general taxpayer's point of view the following items must be considered.

- (i) That the expenditure on the railways, both capital and revenue, is to be so regulated that the general revenue of

the country should not be drawn upon to meet any defects on account of interest on working expenses of the railways.

(2) That the Railway Commission shall pay out of the railway revenue the interest annuities, etc., payable by the Government of India on account of the railways.

(3) That the charges made to the public for the conveyance of passengers, goods, etc., are reasonable, to cover the costs of working including interest, etc., under clause (2) above.

(4) That the liquidation of the Railway debt as contemplated by the Government in 1883 is gradually carried out.

There is however another aspect of the question which is fully discussed in the report submitted by Hailey's Committee which sat to consider the advisability of the separation of Railway from the general finance. The author would have certainly taken them into consideration but evidently the report was issued after the publication of the book. Experience has shown us that money has been spent in the past in the construction and maintenance of Railways without any regard to economy, and unless therefore the Railway budget is subject to the control of the Finance Department which is really responsible for the general finances of the country, it would be well-nigh impossible to control extravagance or regulate legitimate allotment to rail-roads.

There are 31 appendices full of useful statistical and general information and the author deserves congratulation on having published such a volume on the eve of a great industrial and commercial revolution in the country. We gladly commend it to the notice of the Government and the people. If the reforms suggested are even partially carried out, it will solve most, if not all, of the difficulties in which we find ourselves to-day.

B.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

### Recent Histories of Philosophy.

1. *A History of Indian Philosophy*. Vol I. By Surendranath Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (University Press, Cambridge) 1922.
2. *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*. By W. T. Stace. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1921.
3. *A History of English Philosophy*. By W. R. Sorley, Litt.D., LL.D. (University Press, Cambridge) 1921.
4. *Modern Philosophy*. By Guido De Ruggiero. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London) 1921.
5. *A Short History of Morals*. By J. M. Robertson. (Watts & Co., Fleet Street, London) 1921.

Dr. Surendranath Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*—the first volume of which lies before us—is a notable contribution to recent philosophical literature. It is undoubtedly the first comprehensive attempt at tracing a continuous record of philosophic thought in India from the earliest times, and it is remarkable for being based throughout on original sources, embodying the latest research in the indigenous literature of the subject. The volume under review deals with all the Brahmanic and Buddhistic philosophies—the “Six Systems” of orthodox Hindu philosophy, as also the heterodox ones such as Jainism and Buddhism. The volume is thus self-contained and is quite independent of the second and concluding volume, which is to comprise sketches of various systems hitherto practically unknown in the West, as also a review of the whole process of Indian philosophic development and of the net value of the teachings of Indian philosophy. It is not possible within the compass of a short note to do adequate justice to so comprehensive and scholarly a philosophic treatise. That must be reserved for a later occasion. But this learned and luminous work of an Indian Savant—the author is a Lecturer in the University of Calcutta—richly deserves a most cordial welcome in cultured circles alike in the East and the West. It is not a popular book like Max Muller's *Six Systems* or *Lectures on the Vedanta*. On the contrary it is a recondite exposition of the very difficult subjects it deals with and is marked by a scholarship equally rich and rare and a philosophic acumen of the highest order. It will deservedly enhance the reputation of Indian research and scholarship and will long hold the field against all rivals.

The name of histories of Greek philosophy is legion, but one that is truly popular in the best sense of the term was a desideratum. This want has now been completely removed by the publication of Mr. W. T. Stace's *Critical History of Greek Philosophy*. Originally delivered as lectures the treatment of the subject was naturally cast in popular form and it is this striking merit which the book has retained. But while popular it is also comprehensive and it provides a complete account of Greek philosophy from Thales to the Neo-Platonists. Its aims are, not only to explain the principles of Greek thought in the clearest language possible and to give an accurate history of the subject, but also to criticise and appraise these principles, to compare them with modern philosophical ideas, and generally to treat them, not merely as historical facts, but as living ideas having value and significance for the modern mind. The chapters are arranged under the following headings; I. The Idea of Philosophy. II. The Ionics. III. The Pythagoreans. IV. The Eleatics. V. Heracleitus. VI. Empedocles. VII. The Atomists. VIII. Anaxagoras. IX. The Sophists. X. Socrates. XI. The Semi-Socratics. XII. Plato. XIII. Aristotle. XIV. Post-Aristotelian Philosophy. XV. The Stoics. XVI. The Epicureans. XVII. The Sceptics. XVIII. Transition to Neo-Platonists. XIX. The Neo-Platonists. It is clear from the headings of the chapters that the work covers the whole ground of Greek philosophical development and unlike several other histories it does not end at an earlier period. Mr. Stace displays throughout a thorough command of the subject, his exposition of it is lucid and the book is stimulating and thought-provoking to a degree. It deserves a large circulation in cultured circles throughout the English-knowing world.

The object of Professor Sorley's book being to trace the history of philosophy in Great Britain to the end of the Victorian era, it might have been more appropriately designated *A History of British Philosophy*. But his misnamed *History of English Philosophy* is none the less valuable on that account. The book is based on the chapters contributed by Dr. Sorley to the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. These contributions had justly evoked appreciation as focussing the central and significant ideas of British philosophic writers and their enlarged and systematized reprint is, therefore, doubly welcome. It is, in its present form, the best introduction to British philosophic writers, their works, and their contribution

to philosophic thought, and is useful alike for study and reference. It is thus a notable addition to recent philosophic literature.

Dr. Guido De Ruggiero's *Modern Philosophy*—which has been rendered into English from Italian—is a valuable contribution to histories of modern European philosophy. It is an almost exhaustive treatment of the development of European philosophy in the last half-century, by one of the most brilliant members of the modern Italian School. The author is not only a man of great learning but an extremely acute and original critic, and the views which he expresses on the favourite philosophers of the present day will arouse universal interest. Alike as history, as criticism and as constructive thought the book is a remarkable achievement. German, French, Anglo-American and Italian philosophic thought are brought under critical survey and this brilliant work is entitled to serious attention at the hands of students of philosophic literature.

Mr. J. M. Robertson is too well-known as a writer on philosophic subjects to need the reviewer's introduction. His *Short History of Morals* is a work which merits careful consideration. In this learned book the theoretic and practical problems of morals are alike presented in the light of a survey of moral evolution. The beginnings of moral judgment in man are deduced from his position as a rising animal checked by the facts of savage and barbaric life. Theoretic teachings, ancient and modern, are studied alike as historic products and as processes of reasoning; and the progress of moral philosophy is followed down to the present day with the same regard to contemporary practice at the successive stages. On the theoretic side, a reconciliation of intuitionist with utilitarian ethics is undertaken. It need hardly be added that a book so characterized is not meant for popular reading; but it is a contribution of solid value to philosophical literature.

#### Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

*The Speeches and Writings of Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar* (published by Prof. Hiralal Chatterji, Lucknow) brings together in two handy volumes the well-considered opinions of a great Indian. Pandit Bishan Narain, who was a valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*, was one of the most intellectual of our leaders, and with better health and in a more advanced country, he would assuredly have risen to the highest public office. But notwithstanding the many disadvantages under which he worked, he left a deep impression not only on the public life of the United Provinces where

he lived, but also on the wider arena of Indian nationalism. He was elected the President of the Calcutta Congress of 1911 and delivered a most remarkable address from the Presidential chair. He was, what very few Indian politicians are, a man of letters as well. He was deeply read in Western literature and almost every page of the volumes before us bears evidence of his intimate acquaintance with all that is memorable in the English Literature of the Victorian era. Pandit Bishan Narain was a Urdu poet of merit and a brilliant critic of Urdu literature. His splendid paper on the Urdu novelist Ratan Nath Das Sarshar—which first appeared in the pages of the *Hindustan Review*, and which we are glad to find reprinted in the present collection—can, in its grasp of essentials, its brilliance of portraiture, the keenness of penetration, and withal its sovereign quality of sympathy, challenge comparison with pieces written in the best style of Saint-Beuve and Mathew Arnold. We hope the book will meet with the success which it so highly deserves. We also hope that in a subsequent edition, Mr. Hiralal Chatterji will remove the printing mistakes which disfigure the text.

*The Text of the Sakuntala* by Prof. B. K. Thakore, (Taraporewalla, Sons & Co., Bombay) is a reprint of the series of articles that appeared a couple of years ago in the *Hindustan Review*. It was a learned paper read at the first Oriental Conference which was held at Poona in 1919 and it was highly praised at the time. Prof. Thakore shows complete mastery of the subject on which he writes and the present brochure encourages us to hope that he will be able to let us have a critical edition of Kalidasa's masterpiece, which has been a long-felt want.

Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar is too widely-known a scholar to need any introduction, in particular to readers of the *Hindustan Review*, to which he has been a valued contributor. His various books, *Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*, *The Bliss of a Moment* and many others have deservedly won for him a recognised position in the literary and educational world. A new book from him called *Hindu Art: Its Humanism and Modernism* (B. W. Huebsch, New York) is therefore, welcome. Its consists of four small but exceedingly thought-stimulating chapters on Art-criticism in Shakoontala,—(we must confess we cannot reconcile ourselves to this spelling of the name)—Comparative Art-History, Humanism in Hindu Art, and Hindu Technique in Post-Impressionism. Prof. Sarkar will himself not expect us to agree with him on the many interesting points that he has raised, but we regard the book as a sound and valuable contribution to the subject.

*Dancing and the Drama: East and West*, by Stella Block (Orientalia, New York) is in the words of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, who has written an introduction to the essay, something more than a discussion of oriental dancing; it is an introduction to the theory of Asiatic civilisation. The subject is dealt with in a spirit of sympathetic appreciation, and while naturally the treatment is sketchy and incomplete, it is excellent so far as it goes. Being a trained dancer herself, Miss Block speaks with authority on the technique of dancing.

The India Society of London periodically supplies to its members exquisitely printed and bound publications. It has done useful work, not the least having been its original private publication of the *Gitanjali*, long before the Macmillans published it for sale. It has just brought out an interesting brochure on *Shah Abdul Latif* by M. M. Gidvani (India Society, Victoria Street, London). Sir Thomas Arnold says in his foreword that it is a contribution to larger knowledge of Islam in one of its less familiar manifestations, in which it makes appeal to Hindus almost as much as to Musalmans. Shah Abdul Latif was a well-known Sufi of Western India, living in the reign of Aurangzeb. Mr. Gidvani, whom we congratulate on the production of this eminently readable and interesting volume, has some thoughtful things to say in the chapter on "The Sufi Sect in Sind".

Guide Books can, of course, be numbered by the thousands, and yet the *Empire at a Glance* (J. B. Thornhill, Jermyn Street, London) is a welcome addition to their list. It is printed in passport size and has several novel features which will make it valued by the tourist as a work of reference.

*The Hindu Religious Year* by M. M. Underhill is the latest addition to the valuable "Religious Life of India" Series edited by Dr. Farquhar (Association Press, 5, Russell Street, Calcutta). This book, in Mr. Underhill's own words, describes the festivals common to the whole of Hindu India, while dealing in detail with customs in Maharashtra. The feasts and festivals have been traced back to their sources, and altogether a full and sympathetic account has been given of auspicious and inauspicious seasons, and of the Hindu method of reckoning time. It is a useful supplement to B. A. Gupte's *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*.

The doctrine of Evolution started a goodly number of streams in the archives of human brain but none promises a richer and more fruitful course than the science of Anthropology—the study of Man, as he was, as he is and as he may be. Archaeology is an offshoot from Anthropology and

deals mostly with relics of human handicraft of the past ages. India provides a rich ground for exploration and in view of the scanty historical records it has become almost imperative to patiently and industriously build up the historical thread from the relics of the past. In the study of and training for such work a necessary amount of guidance and comparative knowledge is essential and this is why we specially welcome the publication of the first volume of a monumental work by Dr. R. A. Macalister of Dublin University: *A Text Book of European Archaeology*, Volume I The Palæolithic Period, (Cambridge University Press, 1921). Dr Macalister apologises for the selective treatment he has accorded to the mass of material at his disposal but his careful selection has not robbed the work from being termed the most exhaustive treatise available on the subject in the English language. There will be different opinions on various controversial points such as the advent of the Man in Europe at the beginning of the Aurignacian stage or the interpretation of the various figures authentically traced to a certain epoch but Dr. Macalister has not hesitated to express his views always supported by powerful analysis and reasoning. What is of greater importance is the judicious marshalling of facts, the clear and lucid exposition of theories and the easy and very readable style of his narrative. Of particular use to the students of Indian Archaeology as a treatise of comparative knowledge and as a sure guide in understanding the archaeological "method," the book will be welcomed even by the general reader interested in scientific advancement. We look forward with interest to the promised succeeding volumes on later ages. Whatever Dr. Macalister has to say deserves careful attention and his reputation as the foremost exponent of the subject in England has increased manifold by the publication of the present volume.

*The Indian Mutiny of 1857* by Captain F. R. Sedgwick, R.F.A., (Forster Groom & Co., Ltd., London, 1920) professes to be a sketch of the principal military events of that fateful year. The author would have been more precise had he tacked on the qualification that it was from the British point of view alone that he was writing the sketch. No doubt very scanty information is available of the military movements of Nana Farnavis or Tantia, of the valourous Rani of Jhansi. But this is no reason to discredit the military knowledge and action of the other party, even if they be the vanquished one. Grudgingly, it would seem, the author grants a meed of praise to the rival leaders. But he has the excuse of being of the race of the victors and the apology of "whiteman's prestige". The

same angular vision blinds him on occasion to unfairly impugn motives of cruelty or condone obviously unpardonable actions. If the alleged "massacre" of Cawnpore by the order of the Nana deserves condemnation, the parallel murder of the King of Delhi and his sons by Hodson under almost similar circumstances needs equal condemnation. According to the author, however, the latter incident is labelled as merely "unfortunate", as likewise the punishment of blowing men from the guns is considered as "exemplary". The book however gives a fairly consistent account of British military dispositions and will prove of interest both to the military student and the historian. A goodly number of maps help the new reader.

*The Story of Mankind* by Hendrik Van Loon, A.B., Ph.D., (Boni and Liveright, New York City, 1921) is dedicated to Jimmie, the boy of the universe, with the inscription: " 'What is the use of a book without lectures?' said Alice.'" And the outstanding merit and attraction of this novel child's history is the home-made drawings and sketches that accompany the text—illustrations which the young brain would love to draw and draw over again because he grasps intelligently and understands quickly what is meant to be conveyed by the crude pencil lines that always seem to go the wrong way to a maturer mind but appear beautifully straight to the young enthusiast. Mr. Van Loon has achieved a distinct success in interpreting the why and wherefor of Mankind in an entirely original and attractive manner—manner at once refreshing and arresting yet crudely simple. He does not aim at any complete treatment. Sketches of the outstanding events of world's history are given and the narrative runs with a free and homely style. There are very many big gaps, but his aim has not been instruction but education. There can hardly be any doubt that Mr. Loon's book is one of the most original and ambitious events in the writing up of history. One unconsciously links this work with Well's *Outlines of History*, but this is emphatically not a child's H. G. Wells, for the ideals behind the two books are as distant as their respective execution in the matter of plan and workmanship. Mr. Loon has no far-fetched ambitions—his simple plan is to engage the attention of the child. He has been eminently successful. We would recommend every teacher of the young to hasten to get to know its remarkable pages, for there is hardly any better book for introducing history to children.

Sir T. H. Penson of Oxford University has now completed the second part of his *Economics of Everyday Life* (Cambridge University Press, London, 1921) the first part of which was published in 1913. The

completed work forms almost the ideal first book of Economic study. There has not been any serious attempt among English Economists to place a school treatise on the subject. The Americans and Germans alone gave us the first books for boys. Sir Henry Penson has now successfully attempted the task for England and the result is an extremely lucid, readable and scientifically precise introduction to the study of economic life. The reasoning is well balanced and there is no overleaping of thought which is apt to confuse the young reader. We heartily recommend the book to the attention of the educationist in India and to the growing public interested in the study of this fascinatingly vital science.

The Labour Publishing Co. (6 Tavistock Square, London) has done a public service in reprinting Karl Marx's three Manifestoes of 1870-71 under the title *The Civil War in France* with a historical Introduction by R. W. Postgate. These Manifestoes were originally presented on behalf of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Marx's authorship is not disputed and they form a valuable index to Marxian thoughts and feelings about the communes which met with an inglorious failure in the France of 1870-71, and whose rerudescence in Russia to-day under another guise forms one of the most baffling problems before capitalistic Europe because it focusses the energy of proletarian effort for social betterment. Still more valuable is the historical background of Marx's Essays which should prove of great interest to students of history.

An equally important publication is an English translation of Achille Loria's *Karl Marx* (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1921). The translators Eden and Cedar Paul, have contributed an illuminating foreword. Marx has become an international name to-day—the symbol of the hopes and aspirations of western proletariat. The eminent Italian economist traverses the ground with acumen—his sympathy is liberal, his faith buoyant and his criticism impartial. The value of Marx's work is appraised justly and judiciously in contrast with scores of bourgeois criticism which contents with mere denial. But Loria has perceived that Marx is not a simple economic doctrine: his gospel is of the people's entire life; he has opened up vast possibilities of mass progress and set into active motion the idea of people's justice. "Whether praised and accepted, or despised and rejected, by practice or by theory, by history or by reason, Marx will always remain the emperor in the realm of mind, the Prometheus foredestined to lead the human race toward the brilliant goal which awaits it in a future not perhaps immeasurably remote."

Messrs. Ganesh & Co. of Madras have brought out with commendable enterprise a record of the recent trial of Mahatma Gandhi. The scene at the Court, Mr. Gandhi's statements, the judge's peroration and the alleged offending articles are incorporated in the book *The Great Trial* together with few topical excerpts from *Young India* and a foreword by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. It should form an interesting record of a unique State trial which, as ages roll on, will stand out as marking a turning point in the history of British domination in India.

*The Philosophy of Citizenship* by E. M. White (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1921) is about the first book to appear in England on the very American subject of Civics—that newly found doctrine for regulating the instruction and conduct of citizens in a State. One always has a horror of new isms and particularly of anything new that aims to circumscribe one's movements. Civics aim to teach us our duties and obligations towards the State which is *the* community of communities. Mr. White does not preach any new doctrine nor does he relish the disciplinarian hobby of the school master—his aim is less pretentious and in the introductory treatise enters a forcible plea for the recognition in the ordinary curricula of school education of Civics—an understanding of the institutions of society of which he is a member and an inspiration to subordinate his personal interests to those of his community.

Sir Lees Knowles has brought together in *Fun, Fact and Extract* (The St. Catherine Press, London, 1921) a number of anecdotes, sketches and tit-bits which will prove entertaining at a dull hour. A medley of good yarns.

*The Binks Book* by Ruth Dorrien Knight (The Chelsea Publishing Co., London) is a well illustrated tale suitable for the nursery just when its young master is getting troublesome with his tin-kettle-tied-to-dog's-tale or riding-Robin-Hood. The spice of adventure so beloved of boys is thrown in the tale with its dragons and giants, its fights and combats. The get up of the book is excellent and the pictures extremely receptive and entertaining.

*The Man in the Street* by Meredith Nicholson (Charles Scribners' Sons, New York 1921, \$2.00) is a characteristic American book by a noted writer whose fame extends beyond the seas. A collection of ten essays with no lineal relationship to each other—it would need a strong dose of personality to attract the reader to go through the menu at one sitting. Meredith Nicholson has very nearly achieved it. He has always some-

thing interesting to say. If his caustic humour of the "Boulevard of Rogues" inveigles us into the charm of personal contact with the writer, his whimsical "Breakfast Table" breaks us into ideas that seemed too trivial and unimportant. There are literary excursions and catechisms for the voter; fiction with a purpose and a valuable biographical sketch —the last being the best of the lot. We welcome the book particularly as it gives us a peep into the best American thought.

*Democracy and the Will to Power* by James N. Wood (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1921) is an ambitious attempt by a serious student to get behind the motives and ideals of a democracy. There runs throughout its pages a sincere desire to analyse without passion the actual workings of democratic will through the varied phases of human activity, but one is not quite convinced if the "corsair" theory of democratic judgment prevails inevitably and ruthlessly under all sets of circumstances. Mr. Wood betrays a mordant pessimism when he gives no hope of seeing a true democracy functioning through a pooled-up will fitly representing the consensus of particular wills. There is truth in the indictment that *at the present time* democracy in actual practice represents a conflict between minority groups who are enabled by various "corsair" means to bend the majority to their purpose. But it is not valid reason to presume that human mind is incapable of bettering this position. We are afraid a narrow but powerful fringe of reactionary superman doctrine prevents Mr. Wood from believing in the future of Man. He has, however, given us a thought-provoking book which merits careful attention.

In America they "do" things in no slipshod style. If a book takes the reading public by storm the quality of gregariousness—that extremely human foible—tempts even the well provided to fashion his or her next treatise on the lines of the famed one. The result is seldom satisfactory but there are exceptions. We have one before us now. *Ptomain Street* by Carolyn Wells (the well-known writer of detective stories), (J. B Lippincott Company, Philadelphia 1921) is an extremely good parody of the smug respectability and culture camouflage of the American *Main Streeters*. Warble Mildew, the fat and plump waitress at Bairn's Restaurant, is suddenly transported to Butterfly Center as the wife of the super-doctor Petticoat and finds herself a misfit, a negation amid the cant and hypocrisy of society aesthetics. Warble tries her utility schemes but "art and culture" stand in the way and finally land her in a pickle factory, ultimately to be redeemed through a course of flesh-reduction by the up-

surging of that great swindle—Love. Charming and delicious as the reading is, the inimitable wit and humour of the author will carry the reader through every page.

Louis Couperus, the eminent Dutch novelist, is not so well-known outside his own land as a study of his recent translations would warrant. *The Law Inevitable* translated by Alexander Teixeira De Mattos (Thornton Butterworth Ltd., London 1921) is his latest presentation to English readers which has added to the very high estimation to which his previous works entitled him. *The Law Inevitable* is a master study of feminine temperament, a ruthless analysis of the soul of a woman, revealed in all its nakedness and tinged with vivid vibrations. Cornélie the unhappy divorcee, finds a relief in the change of scenes from Holland to Italy. She creates an abounding love for herself in the heart of a young artist and reciprocating the passion she slowly builds up the broken blossom of her life. But her conscience is always troubled by the memory of her former husband. She cannot wholly separate herself from him and when penury forces her to seek for a living she comes across his path and the fatal feeling 'once his always his' surrenders her again to his masterful domination. It would be difficult to place Cornélie, but this much may be said with certainty that the realistic feminine characterisation presented to us in this tale can hardly be paralleled in modern fiction. A great story, very well told and arresting attention right through its beautiful pages.

In Rhoda Broughton's last novel *A Fool in Her Folly* (Odham's Press, Ltd., London 1921) we meet with all the 'pungent wit, the delightful glancing humour' of which she gave us a hint in her earlier tales. It is the story of a girl who aspired to write of the grand passion of Love, without yet having experienced its miseries herself. An acute and sharp analysis of human heart,—the sympathetic sensitiveness of the author touches at every point and smoothens the awkward and abrupt edges. The result is a tale extremely readable and entirely pleasure-giving because thoroughly human.

*The Haunted Vintage* by Marjorie Bowen (Odham's Press, Ltd., London 1921) is a whimsical story of legend and myth. The plot is laid amid a fascinating witchery of scene that borders the Lower German land; and the accompaniment of satyrs and fairies, of wild boars and the devil's hoof relate to the legendary stories so beloved of the simple folks that live round the edges of the forest. *The Haunted Vintage* is a readable narrative but there is no characterisation of individual or incident. The plot is weak and

halting, but to the lover of folk legends it will provide fresh points of interest.

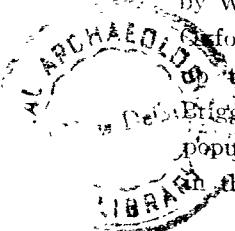
Dr. F. W. Thomas is a recognised authority on Jainism and he is a Sanskritist with a genuine admiration for India and the Indians. He has just edited with an English translation the *Barhaspatra Arthashastra* (Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore). The Arthashastra of Brihaspati is admittedly one of the oldest, Sanskrit works on politics and sociology. Kautilya and Kamandaka who wrote elaborate treatises on the subject flourished later and borrowed largely from Brihaspati. It is needless to say that the translation is of high merit.

*The Way to Agricultural Progress* by Pandit Dayashankar Dubey (Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta), is a useful contribution to the subject of the economic condition of Indian agriculturists. Mr. Dubey suggests the institution of an Agriculturists' Benefit Department, and a department like that will probably help to stimulate and co-ordinate the work which the Government must do on behalf of the rural population. Probably the writer is a little bit too optimistic in his estimate that his scheme will 'immensely improve the economic condition of Indian Agriculturists within say 25 or 30 years.' But the direct and indirect remedies suggested by him deserve the earnest consideration of all interested in this important problem.

*How to Learn Hindi* by Pandit Satyavrata Siddhantalankar (Arya Samaj, Basavangud, Bangalore), fills a much needed want. It will be found particularly helpful by English-knowing persons.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mohammad Fasil-ud-din, the Collector of Jaunpur in the United Provinces, has rendered a piece of useful service to his district by writing an account of *The Sharqi Monuments* (Empire Press, Allahabad). The author has attempted—and with great success—to bring up to date the literature on the subject and to remove the inaccuracies that have crept into the existing books. A learned introduction adds to the interest of the volume.

*The Tutorial Chemistry, Part II* (Metals and Physical Chemistry), by W. H. Bailey, D.Sc. (University Tutorial Press Ltd., High Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.) has been considerably enlarged, brought up to date and thoroughly revised by its eminent editor Dr. William Briggs. The results of modern research have been incorporated and this popular text book for students of Chemistry retains its pre-eminent place in the school curriculum.





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*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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